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THE

MANNERS

AND

CUSTOMS

OF THE

ROMANS.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON, at the Crown in Ludgate-Street. MDCCXL.

THE

MANNERS

OF THE

CUSTOMS

OF THE

BRAHMINS

Translated from the French

LONDON:

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to the God of war would render them more formidable. It is highly probable that they did not invent the fable of the divine extraction of Romulus and Remus, till long after their time; for it would have gained very little credit with their cotemporaries.

It is not eaſy to believe, that the Romans formed their ſyſtem for aggrandizing themſelves in theſe weak beginnings: Or did the example of their founder, ſolely intent upon extending his little territory, inſpire them with that idea? It is probable, that his maxims founded in good policy, ſeemed to thoſe who introduced the republican government highly proper for ſeconding their ambitious ſcheme, which Romulus firſt deſigned, and his ſucceſſors had neglected. The latter acting only according to their different geniuſſes and particular views, did not enter into a plan of policy, that was not fully unravelled and perfectly underſtood till under the Commonwealth. For omitting to tread in the ſteps of Romulus, they formed, during the ſpace of two hundred and forty years, only a very ſmall ſtate, like the reſt of the little ſtates of Italy. Perhaps alſo the Romans partly owed their ſyſtem for aggrandizing their empire to the high hopes, which their augurs and auſpices had made them conceive from the foundation of Rome; for they promiſed them no leſs than the empire of the world, which they aſſured them was to be of eternal duration. From all theſe facts it reſults, that Rome very early had formed to herſelf a plan of government, as appears from the maxims conſtantly obſerved as long as the Commonwealth ſubſiſted; a plan from which, neither the changes made in the form of the government,

ment, nor the different kind of magistrates created, ever made her depart. Adversity itself served only to augment the constancy and resolution of the Romans, inviolably attached at such times to the maxim of never treating with the enemy. This passion for aggrandizing themselves had taken such deep root in the hearts of these haughty republicans, that the conquest of one country only enflamed their desire to conquer others.

Polyb. Frag c. 69.

I. *The Romans refused Pyrrhus and Perseus peace after their victories over them.*

The policy first employed by Rome, surpassed any thing that could be expected from a people so gross as they were in their manners: for what could be more wisely imagined in such weak beginnings, than to make their first victories augment their forces, by obliging the conquered people to incorporate themselves with the victors, and artfully to call in religion to render both less savage, and make them relish laws proper to form them for obedience and good government? If the Kings who succeeded Romulus had followed his excellent Maxims, they would have carried their conquests farther: but the Commonwealth soon knew how to cultivate those first seeds of policy, which always supplied her with assured resources. Covering their excessive desire of rule under the specious outside of officious amity and good-will, those ambitious republicans had the art to improve what passed amongst their neighbours to their own advantage: and if differences arose between them, they never failed to interpose their mediation, joining always the weaker side to reduce the stronger, and thereby preparing the way for subjecting it in the sequel. Rome in this manner concealed her secret views under the veil of generosity and justice: but she threw off

II. *Policy of the first Romans founded in violence.*

that diſguiſe, aſſoon as ſhe perceived herſelf ſufficiently powerful alone for the execution of her ambitious projects, and ſhewed that the outſide of juſtice with which ſhe adorned herſelf, had no other ſource than her want of power.

Polyb. Vol. III Frag c. 118. What Polybius tells us of the difference between the Carthaginians and King Maſſiniſſa concerning ſome diſtricts of land, which they agreed to refer to the deciſion of the Roman People, is an authentick teſtimony of this truth; the following are the author's own terms. The cauſe of the Carthaginians was always bad in the judgment of the Roman People; not becauſe they wanted good reaſons to ſupport it, but becauſe the judges thought it for their intereſt to judge ſo.

Dion. Hal. l. 11. c. 12. Liv. l. 3. Vell. Pat. l. 1. c. 12. The Roman People had ſhewn the ſame ſpirit long before, in adjudging lands in diſpute between the Ardeates and Aricini to themſelves, whom thoſe people had choſe to arbitrate between them. And laſtly, the deſtruction of Carthage, a barbarous and cruel piece of policy, leaves it beyond all doubt, that Rome obſerved juſtice no farther than as it ſuited her intereſts.

Tac. l. 2. It was alſo from a ſpirit of policy, and not the ſenſe of humanity, that ſhe made it a law to herſelf at firſt, to leſſen the taxes of the provinces ſhe conquered: but her real end was to make her rule appear gentle, in order to allure neighbouring ſtates, and to prevent by that moderation the revolts that might have been excited in newly ſubjected provinces.

Nothing ſhews better the genius of her policy, than what ſhe did after having avenged herſelf upon Philip King of Macedonia, who had aſſiſted Hannibal.

Polyb. Frag. c 9. She affected to publiſh in the Iſthmian Games, where all Greece was aſſembled, that the Roman People reinſtated all the

the cities of Greece in their liberty; that they had undertaken the war againſt Philip with that view, and that they deſired no other reward than the glory of ſo beneficent a conduct. This declaration was a mere illuſion, and the more, as the Senate had reimburſed themſelves for the expences of the war, not only out of the plunder which had been taken in it, but alſo by conſiderable ſums which they had exacted from Philip on granting him a peace. But their real motive was to reduce the power of that Prince, which gave umbrage to the Commonwealth, whilſt they were ſecretly reſolved upon the future conqueſt of all Greece. This magnificent diſplay of diſintereſtedneſs tended to efface the ſuſpicions, which the Greeks might have conceived, and was deſigned to dazzle them with the name of liberty, of which they were always ſo fond, and to prevent them from ſeeing, that Rome was forging them heavier chains than thoſe from which ſhe boaſted to have relieved them. Such was the artful policy of the Commonwealth, which is very obvious throughout the whole courſe of her hiſtory. By thruſting herſelf into the affairs of her neighbours, ſhe continually made way for the ſucceſs of her ſecret views, and found means not to leave her citizens unemployed, which might have been of pernicious conſequence: for Rome paſſed ſo ſmall a part of her time without making war, that the temple of Janus, which was ſhut only during peace, was ſhut only twice from the foundation of Rome till the reign of Auguſtus, the firſt time under Numa, and the ſecond after the firſt Punic war. Hence it followed, that being always in arms, ſhe became extremely expert in the art of war. However, till the ar-

Polyb. Frag. c. 113.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 38.

rival of Pyrrhus in Italy, ſhe had made that art conſiſt only in a fierce and obſtinate courage, and her military diſcipline in a miſtaken and exceſſive ſeverity. But that Prince's manner of making war opened her eyes: ſhe began to learn that ſcience from him; Hannibal made her profound in it, and Scipio at the ſame time had the addreſs to ſoften what was too ſevere in her diſcipline. Marius after gave it a better form; and Cæſar at length put the laſt hand to it. By this policy and diſcipline, which perfectly ſuited the plan formed by the Roman Commonwealth for aggrandizing her power, ſhe ſucceeded to make herſelf the miſtreſs of almoſt the whole world. When the ſprings which ſet this great body in motion are known, the hiſtory of it is read with much more ſatisfaction; becauſe the mind being no longer intent upon tracing them out, devotes itſelf wholly to the pleaſure of following the facts, and the delight which their variety affords. But it is no leſs neceſſary to know the Manners and Cuſtoms of the people whoſe hiſtory one reads; that knowledge leading us to that of their genius and character, and almoſt rendering us their cotemporaries, or at leaſt ſerving to give them a leſs foreign air. It were therefore to be wiſhed, that thoſe who undertake to write the Roman hiſtory, or that of any other nation, would begin by placing good obſervations upon the policy and peculiar character of ſuch people by way of preliminaries in the front of their work; which could not but add to the reader's improvement and ſatisfaction.

Plut. in Mar.

To have ſome knowledge of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Romans, it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh times: for from the foundation of Rome,

Rome, till she extended her conquests beyond the bounds of Italy, she retained a simplicity and integrity of manners, that did her more honour even than her triumphs. The virtues, of which she has left us examples that constitute the ornament of her history, are the love of her country and of public good in preference to private interest and often life itself, a greatness of soul and force of mind, that made her regard disgraces and adversity as the lot and inheritance of human nature, and at the same time as the ornaments of her constancy and resolution; an intrepidity of entire proof against the greatest dangers; an admirable generosity, that often extended even to her enemies; a love of simplicity and aversion for luxury, which confine themselves to the simple occasions of nature; to which might be added the contempt of riches, if it were not obvious, that it was rather the habit of poverty, than a real virtue in effect of choice. Accordingly, when they had subjected opulent states, they pursued riches with amazing ardor; every one in particular making it his sole study to amass them, without any scruple or regard to the means. The excessive avarice of Crassus, Verres, and so many others, are proofs of this; and what Jugurtha said in flying from Rome, that it wanted only a purchaser to sell itself, is a still stronger testimony of it. That Prince said so with good grounds; for after having corrupted the generals of the armies sent against him by the Commonwealth with his presents, he found the Senate no less easy in that respect. Accordingly, in process of time, the too great opulence and ambition of her citizens were the rocks upon which the Roman liberty was shipwrecked; the civil wars, which were a

Sallust. in Jugurth.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 47.

kind of prelude to the ſlavery of the State, deriving themſelves from thoſe ſources.

Aſſoon as Rome had carried her arms into Aſia, luxury, effeminacy, feaſting, debauchery, and the love of riches and pleaſures, were ſeen in a ſhort time to ſucceed the antient ſimple and frugal kind of life; ſo that ſhe ſeemed to have contracted the vices of all the nations ſhe had ſubjected to her power. She did not fall into theſe exceſſes till about an hundred and fifty years before the end of the Commonwealth.

The times when all the virtues we have juſt mentioned ſhone out moſt, were about the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy and the two firſt Punic wars; the artificial ſpirit of the Commonwealth notwithſtanding always ſubſiſted, with this difference, that ſhe preſerved appearances in thoſe days with a nicer attention than ſhe did after the augmentation of her power had left her nothing to fear from her neighbours.

Lib. 9. c. 1. III. *Epocha of luxury.*

Valerius Maximus dates the introduction of luxury at Rome about the 561ſt year of its foundation, immediately after the defeat of Philip King of Macedonia, and attributes it to the ſuppreſſion of the law *Oppia*, by which women were prohibited to wear habits of different colours, to uſe more than half an ounce of gold in their dreſs, and to be drawn in chariots with two horſes within the diſtance of a thouſand paces from the city; unleſs ſome ſacrifice were to be made.

But what occaſioned the abrogation of this law, was the taſte which the Romans had already began to contract for the ſoft and voluptuous life of the Aſiatics: for the date of luxury and corruption of manners at Rome ought to be fixed

fixed at the time, when the army ſent againſt Antiochus, after having ſubjected the provinces of Aſia, brought back from thence the vices with the ſpoils of the conquered. Their progreſs indeed did not appear conſiderable, till after the deſtruction of Carthage; which made Velleius Paterculus not date its beginning till then; after which it became ſo rapid and general, that Rome entirely changed aſpect. It will not be uſeleſs to note this difference of times with attention. Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 4

Ir muſt be obſerved, that the Roman People were at firſt compoſed only of two Orders, the Patricians and Plebeians: the firſt included the whole nobility; but from the time that the *Gracchi* were Tribunes of the People, and had paſſed the law, which transferred the cognizance of certain cauſes from the Senators to the Knights, the latter formed a ſecond Order of the Nobility, and then the Roman People were divided into three Orders, of which the laſt conſiſted of the inferior citizens, the Burghers or Plebeians. For the miniſters of religion formed no ſeparate Order. They were confounded with the Nobility, who reſerved to themſelves the ſuperintendance of the ſacrifices, and the dignities of religion, which they conſtantly engroſſed till the 446th year of Rome, when the People were admitted to ſhare in the dignities of Augur and Pontiff. The third Order contained only free perſons, who were alſo diſtinguiſhed into three kinds. Firſt, thoſe who were born free, and of parents who had always been ſo; theſe were called *Ingenui:* ſecondly, the children of freedmen, called in Latin *Libertini*; and thirdly, freedmen themſelves, who from ſlaves had been ſet at liberty by their maſters: Liv. l. 10.

sters: for as long as they continued slaves, they could not be ranked amongst the People.

IV. *Distribution of the Roman citizens.* Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 3.

These three Orders were included in the general distribution of the Roman People made at first by Romulus, in dividing Rome into Tribes or Quarters, which he sub-divided into a certain number of *Curiæ*, or Wards. Servius Tullius, the sixth King, in order to have a more exact knowledge of the forces of the Roman People, instituted the *Census*, or general review of all the Roman citizens, wherein every father of a family was obliged to give in a faithful account of his slaves, his freedmen, and actual residence, upon pain, for such as disobeyed this regulation or delivered false accounts, of being publicly whipped, and afterwards sold for slaves. This muster was to be renewed every fifth year, as we shall soon see when we come to speak of the Censors.

Ibid. l. 4. c. 5.

Senec. Ep. 95. Dion. Hal. l. 4. c. 4.

V. *Officers in the villages to take the* Census. Dion. Hal. l. 4. c. 4. Ibid. l. 2. c. 21.

He also instituted Chiefs, or rather Syndics, in every village: they were to take an account of the inhabitans and their estates; and as often as levies were to be made, or taxes to be raised, it was the business of those Syndics to list soldiers, and to levy the capitation. They were also to take care that the lands in their districts were well cultivated. To facilitate this muster in the country, he instituted a festival called *Panagalia*, in honour of the tutelary Gods of each village, to whom they erected altars. All the inhabitants of each village were obliged to assemble annually on a certain day, to offer public sacrifices upon them to those Divinities, and to bring thither a small piece of coin of different species, the men of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third; so that in putting each species by itself and counting them,

them, he who preſided at theſe ſacrifices, knew immediately the number, age, and ſex, of the whole aſſembly. Servius Tullius afterwards diſtributed the Roman People into ſix *Claſſes*, according to their having more or leſs eſtate, and divided each Claſs into a certain number of *Centuries*, of which he made another diviſion, the one of ſuch as were above forty-five years old, and the other of the *Youth*, that is to ſay, thoſe between ſeventeen and forty-five. For amongſt the Romans a man was deemed of the number of the *Youth* till that age. This latter body was intended to act abroad, and compoſed the armies which ſerved in the field; and out of the other, the troops which remained to guard the city were compoſed. To theſe two bodies of troops he added four Centuries, two of which conſiſted only of artificers, and the other two of performers on muſical inſtruments; all four to follow the armies. The firſt Claſs contained the richeſt citizens, and the reſt of the ſame in proportion down to the ſixth, in which thoſe were ranked, whoſe fortunes did not amount to twelve hundred and fifty drachmas. Theſe were a multitude of the poorer ſort, which were called *Proletarii*, becauſe they were uſeful to the State only in the propagation of children; being exempt from ſerving in the armies, and from paying any taxes on account of their poverty. They therefore only made up number; and were called alſo for that reaſon *Capite Cenſi*. Though this Claſs was far the moſt numerous, Servius made it but one Century, in order that it might have leſs ſhare in the affairs of the government, as we ſhall ſee when we come to ſpeak of the *Comitia*, or aſſemblies of the Roman People. The great number of citizens made

Dion. Hal. l. 4. c. 5.

made it neceſſary to augment that of the Tribes from time to time, which at length roſe to thirty-five. The Tribe in conſequence did not continue to ſignify the Quarter where the citizen lived, as it had at firſt; but only a certain part of the People, of which it conſiſted, and which however ſtill retained the name of Tribe. Thus the Roman People was diſtributed in five manners; the firſt by Tribes, the ſecond by *Curiæ* or Wards, the third by Claſſes, the fourth by Centuries, and the fifth, by the three Orders of the State, the Senators, the Knights, and the People. The important circumſtances which aroſe from theſe different diſtributions, and the changes which were made in them, will be ſucceſſively related in this work, as occaſion ſhall naturally introduce them.

BOOK

BOOK THE FIRST.

The MANNERS *and* CUSTOMS *of the Romans, conſidered principally in private life.*

CHAPTER I.

I. *Of names, and when they were given.* II. *Regiſter of the births of children.* III. *Of adoption.* IV. *Manner of educating children.*

I. *Of names, and when given.*

CUSTOMS being things attached to the actions of man in the courſe of his life, to ſpeak of them with ſome order, it is neceſſary to follow him through his different ages, and to begin with him at his birth. As they are eſtabliſhed only in effect of the relation and conformity which they have with the manners of a people, the deſcription of the one is, to uſe the expreſſion, a lively portrait of the other.

The Romans, and eſpecially perſons of diſtinction, had uſually * three names, and ſometimes four, when they had been adopted : The

* ——Si quid tentaveris unquam
Hiſcere, tanquam habeas tria nomina.
Juv. Sat. V. v. 127.
If thou dare murmur, if thou dare complain
With freedom, like a Roman Gentleman.

firſt

first name, or *prænomen*; the *nomen*, or that of the family from which they descended; and the *cognomen*, or that peculiar to the branch of a family. It is certain, that it was the custom with them from the beginning to have two names, though Appian of Alexandria says the contrary in his preface. All their Kings except Romulus had two, as well as his mother, who was called Rhea Sylvia. In process of time the Romans, to distinguish themselves the better, took a third, either from some mark of the body, or some quality of the mind. Plutarch in his Roman questions assures us, that the Roman women had two names, and the men three. To a son they gave the name of the family on the ninth day after his birth; to a daughter on the eighth; though Julius Capitolinus, in his history of Claudius Albinus, says, a son was named, and a feast given on that occasion, the seventh day after his birth. But the *prænomen* was not given him till he took the *toga virilis*, or the gown of manhood, that is to say at seventeen, nor to the daughters till their marriage. It is observed, that as long as the Commonwealth subsisted, the Romans were careful to preserve the name of the family from which they descended; the eldest generally took the *prænomen* of his father, as in the families of the Fabii, Cornelii, Claudii, and many others; as to the younger brothers, they called themselves indifferently by any other first names. But under the Emperors they do not appear to have had the same attention. During some time the women had also peculiar first names, which were wrote the wrong end upwards; for instance C. and M. reversed signified *Caia* and *Marcia*. This was a manner of expressing the feminine gender, but this

Plut. Quæst. Rom. 102.

this cuſtom was dropt in proceſs of time. If the females were only daughters, the name of their houſe was given them alone, and ſometimes ſoftened with a diminutive as *Tulliola* inſtead of *Tullia*. If there were two of them, they were diſtinguiſhed by the words *ſenior* and *junior*, and if more they were called the firſt, ſecond, third, *&c.* Theſe names were alſo made diminutives, as *Secundilla* the ſecond, *Quartilla* the fourth. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius made an ordinance at Rome, whereby all free perſons were obliged to deliver in accounts of all their children, in thirty days from the birth of each child, to the treaſurer of the empire, in order to their being depoſited in the temple of Saturn, where the public acts were kept. And for the ſame purpoſe he created officers in the provinces, who acted as regiſters; in order that if any one diſputed another's freedom of condition, as often enough happened, he might defend himſelf by having recourſe to thoſe depoſites.

Spartian. in vit. M. Aurel. II.

Regiſter of the births of children.

They had even in the times of the Kings began to take cognizance of the number of the children born in Rome, of thoſe who died there, and of ſuch as took the robe of manhood. For Servius Tullius had ordained that a ſmall piece of money ſhould be carried to the temple of Juno for the birth of every child; one to the temple of Venus *Libitina* on the death of each perſon; and laſtly, one to the temple of Youth for every one that took the *toga virilis*. But thoſe precautions did not ſuffice to aſcertain a perſon's freedom of condition.

Dion. Hal. l. 4. c 4.

As to the ſlaves, they had at firſt no other names but thoſe of their maſters; afterwards thoſe of their countries was added to them; and

when they were made free they took their master's *prænomen*, and the *nomen* or name of his family, but not the *cognomen*, instead of which they retained their own *prænomen*. There was also another name which was taken in case of adoption.

III. *Of adoption.* When a person had no children amongst the Romans, he was allowed to adopt the son of a relation or friend. During a certain space of time the magistrates were applied to for this purpose, and afterwards the people assembled by *Curiæ*. The father of the child adopted was asked, whether he would renounce his son, with the whole extent of his paternal power, and the right of life and death over him? The Emperors afterwards assumed this right to themselves, and they were applied to for permission to adopt; they even granted it to women who had no children. Adoption was also made by will, both with respect to name and estate. This did not take place till the Prætor had authorized it, after the death of the adopter.

Dion. Cass. l. 46. Those who were adopted, took the name of their fathers by adoption, adding to them only those of the families from which they descended. There were several things to be observed by him who desired to adopt. In the first place it was requisite, that the adoption should not dishonour the family of the adopter: hence a Patrician was not allowed to adopt a Plebeian; but a Plebeian might adopt a Patrician. It was also necessary, that the adopter should be eighteen years older than the adopted, and that he should have no children. The *Præfectus urbis* was to judge of these conditions; and after having examined into them, he either confirmed or rejected the adoption: if he granted it, they

they caufed it afterwards to be ratified by another magiftrate.

IV. *Manner of educating children.*

It is probable, that the manner of educating children differed in the more or lefs happy ages of Rome. In the beginning it was fuited to the hard and auftere life of the firft Romans; but it became more delicate, as luxury and effeminacy gained ground. If we carry our curiofity fo far as to defire to know in what manner they treated the earlieft infancy, we find that they fwaddled children up in bands and folds, almoft in the fame manner as the moderns. Montf. Antiq.

CHAPTER II.

I. *Manner of life of the first Romans.* II. *Of the education of their youth.* III. *Few laws of the first Romans.* IV. *Praise of the first Romans.* V. *Education of females.* VI. *Taste of the Romans for martial exercises.*

I. *Manner of life of the first Romans.*

AS long as the Romans had only a territory of small extent, and devoted themselves principally to arms and agriculture, the education of their youth was confined almost entirely to those employments; and it was not till after having carried their arms into Greece, the asylum and abode of the arts and sciences, that they were capable of instructing their youth learnedly. During a long space of time, the principal magistrates of Rome subsisted solely from small estates in the country, that they cultivated with their own hands, though they resided actually in the city; between the cares of which, and those of the country, they divided their time. We see an example of this in the person of Quintius Cincinnatus, whose whole estate consisted in four acres of land, and who was found holding the plow, when the deputies of the Senate came to inform him, that he was declared Dictator. It is evident that such a kind of life required no very refined education: accordingly the fathers did not transfer that care to others, and as their children advanced in years, they instructed them in the laws, as themselves had been instructed in them, and inspired them by their example with the love of their country: They also taught them

Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 8.

Dion. Hal. l. 10. c. 3. & 5.

II. *Of the education of their youth.*

them how to use arms, and all the exercises necessary in war, endeavouring by their instructions to make them capable at once of becoming good soldiers, good citizens, and good magistrates. Indeed at that time, in order to discharge the functions of the last worthily, if we except a supreme knowledge of the interests of the Commonwealth, they had no occasion for abundance of study; as before the compiling of the laws of the twelve tables, they had very few written ones, and those known only to the Patricians. They had no other rules in adjudging causes, but a certain equity and uprightness of mind, from which the judges seldom departed. Happy, if they could always have retained virtues more useful to them than all the laws, that could not prevent the corruption of their manners. Sallust has given us in few words the praise of these times, when the Roman virtue was at its highest point, where he says, that Valour in War, and Justice in Peace, were the sole bulwarks of the citizens and commonwealth.

III. *Few laws of the first Romans.* Val. Max. l. 2. c. 5.

IV. *Praise of the first Romans.* Sall. in Catil.

Those who were for giving their children a more extraordinary education, sent them amongst the Hetrurians, a neighbouring people, from whom they had borrowed most of their religious ceremonies, and the ensigns of honour annexed to dignities; as Lictors, who preceded their Kings and magistrates, the Curule chair of ivory, &c. It was also in imitation of the Hetrurians, that Rome had Augurs; for that people were judged to excel in such kind of superstitions, of which the Romans were no less enamoured than them. Liv. l. 9.

As to the education of females, it was confined to domestic oeconomy within doors, and to

V. *Education of females.*

to works that ſuited it, * as ſpinning of wool, which their mothers taught their daughters: for in thoſe early times the Roman ladies confined themſelves within their own families, and did not go abroad without neceſſity: but in proportion as the Roman manners ſoftened, they were more communicative of themſelves, and at length not the laſt to take advantage of the too great liberty and even licence, which the corruption of manners introduced.

After Rome had rendered her citizens more opulent by her conqueſts, they gave their children maſters to inſtruct them in exerciſes and the ſciences. Paulus Æmilius did ſo: Cato, who was very fond of the antient ſimplicity, inſtructed his ſon himſelf not only in Grammar, for in his time they were for knowing the lan-

Plut. in vit. P. Æmil. Id. in vit. Caton.

* Unde hæc monſtra tamen, vel quo de fonte, requiris?
Præſtabat caſtas humilis fortuna Latinas
Quondām, nec vitiis contingi parva ſinebat
Tecta labor, ſomnique breves, & vellere Thuſco
Vexatæ, duræque manus, ac proximus urbi
Annibal, & ſtantes Collina in turre mariti.
Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala; ſævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.
Nullum crimen abeſt, facinuſque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit.—— *Juv.* Sat. VI. v. 285, &c.

You aſk from whence proceed theſe monſtrous crimes?
Once poor, and therefore chaſte, in former times
Our matrons were: no luxury found room
In low-roof'd houſes, and bare walls of lome;
Their hands with labour harden'd while 'twas light,
And frugal ſleep ſupply'd the quiet night,
While pinch'd with want, their hunger held 'em ſtraight,
When Hannibal was hov'ring at the gate.
But wanton now, and lolling at our eaſe,
We ſuffer all the inveterate ills of peace,
And waſteful riot; whoſe deſtructive charms
Avenge the vanquiſh'd world on our victorious arms.
No crime, no arts of lewdneſs, are unknown
Since poverty, our guardian God, is gone. Dryden.

guage

guage by rules, but in the laws, and all the exercises of war, without excepting even wrestling, in which the combatants fought naked with each other.

The Romans were so fond of excelling in all the exercises of war, that Julius Cæsar from his infancy accustomed himself to ride a horse full speed with his hands behind his back, though he had only a flat saddle and no stirrops, according to the custom of those times. The principal persons of the Commonwealth knew so well how to use arms, that the same Cæsar made the Senators and Knights instruct the gladiators, who were to fight before the people; believing that their lessons would improve them more than those of the fencing-masters. The places where persons formed themselves in this art were called *Palestræ*, a name which was however common to all places, where bodily exercises were practised. At the doors of these houses a statue of Hercules was placed, which served instead of a sign, as an arm with a foil denotes a fencing-master's now in France. There were also masters, who taught the art of shooting with a bow.

Ibid. in vit. J. Cæsar.

VI. *Taste of the Romans for military exercises.*

Suet. in J. Cæsar. n. 26.

CHAPTER III.

I. *Of eloquence.* II. *Origin of the profeſſion of advocates.* III. *Decline of the ſciences.* IV. *Ignorance of the early times.* V. *No public ſchools.* VI. *Manner of writing.* VII. *Of letters epiſtolary.* VIII. *Moderation of Auguſtus and Tiberius.* IX. *Magnificent titles of the Emperors and Senators.* X. *Of the politeneſs of the Romans.* XI. *Place of honour on the right.* XII. *Emperors ſalute by a kiſs.* XIII. *Reſpect paid to the ladies.* XIV. *Wine prohibited to women.*

I. *Of eloquence.*

THE art of ſpeaking in public ſoon became part of the education of youth, and was cultivated even by perſons of more advanced years. After Rome had made choice of the Republican conſtitution, eloquence ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary. For without the talent of ſpeaking, how was it poſſible for them to ſhare in the government, propoſe laws, deliberate upon the intereſts of the Commonwealth, and obtain offices? In conſequence they copied the Greeks in familiarizing themſelves with eloquence from their earlieſt youth: and the more powerful the Commonwealth became, the more ſhe cultivated that art. But it did not attain its higheſt perfection till after a very conſiderable time, during which the neceſſity and habit of ſpeaking in public ſerved them inſtead of art. It was not till after their commerce with the Greeks, that charmed with the beauty of the diſcourſes of their orators, they were deſirous of learning the rules of eloquence, and for that purpoſe

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1.

purpoſe called in maſters from Greece. Under theſe maſters thoſe great orators were formed, who ſhewed, that the Romans were capable of equalling the Greeks in eloquence. The taſte for it was become ſo general towards the end of Cicero's life, that even the fair ſex conceived it for their glory. Hiſtory gives us an example of this in the perſon of Hortenſia, daughter of the famous orator Hortenſius. The diſcourſe is ſtill extant, which ſhe pronounced in public, for exempting the Roman ladies from the tax, which the Triumviri had laid upon fourteen hundred of them, to raiſe troops againſt Brutus and Caſſius. Beſides this obligation to ſpeak in public upon the affairs of the ſtate, which were either tranſacted in the Senate or the aſſembly of the People, there was one peculiar to thoſe the people had choſen for their patrons, who in that quality were obliged to defend their clients, and to plead themſelves, or to cauſe their friends to plead for them, without any other advantage, except the glory of ſupporting the intereſts of thoſe, who were under their protection. But aſſoon as the Emperors had deprived the People of the right of chuſing their magiſtrates, and of giving their ſuffrages in trials and public deliberations, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, patrons and clients becoming mutually uſeleſs, ſubſiſted no longer. Particulars having patrons no longer to defend their cauſes, confided them to citizens, whom they judged moſt eloquent, and beſt verſed in the laws. Eloquence, till then diſintereſted, and actuated ſolely by the love of glory and public good, became, in effect of venality, a ſource of mean avidity and ſordid lucre. Such was the riſe of the profeſſion of

App. Alex. de Bell. Civ. l. 4.

Val. Max. l. 8. c. 3.

Dion Hal. l. 2. c. 4.

II. *Origin of the profession of advocates.* Tac. An. l. 11. Plin. jun. l. 5. Ep. 21.

advocates. Juvenal *, in his seventh satire, ridicules those of his time, who affected to appear in public in litters, drest magnificently, and with a great train; and who carried their ostentation so far, as to wear gems of great value on their fingers at the bar, in order to pass for extremely rich, and to make their employers pay the dearer for their service. They came at length to exact such great sums, that it became necessary to make regulations for fixing their fees. This taste for eloquence subsisted a great while under the Emperors, and with the profes-

* ——— ——— ——— Purpura vendit
Causidicum, vendunt amethystina: convenit illis
Et strepitu & facie majoris vivere census.
At finem impensæ non servat prodiga Roma.
Ut redeant veteres, Ciceroni nemo ducentos
Nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit annulus ingens.
Respicit hoc primum qui litigat, an tibi servi
Octo, decem comites, post te an sit sella, togati
Ante pedes. Ideo conducta Paulus agebat
Sardonyche, atque ideo pluris, quam Cossus agebat,
Quam Basilus. Rara in tenui facundia panno.
Juv. Sat. VII. v. 135, &c.

Nor can I wonder at such tricks as these;
The purple garments raise the lawyer's fees,
And sell him dearer to the tool that buys:
High pomp and state are useful properties.
The luxury of Rome will know no end;
For still the less we have, the more we spend.
Trust eloquence to shew our parts and breeding!
Not Tully now could get ten groats by pleading,
Unless the diamond glittered on his hand:
Wealth's all the rhet'rick clients understand.
Without large equipage, and loud expence,
The prince of orators would scarce speak sense.
Paulus, who with magnificence did plead,
Grew rich, whilst tatter'd Gallus begg'd his bread.
Who to poor Basilus his cause would trust,
Tho' ne'er so full of pity, ne'er so just?
His clients, unregarded, claim their due:
For eloquence in rags was never true.
Mr. Ch. Dryden.

sion

ſion of arms, long conſtituted the principal occupation of the Romans.

More than an hundred years before the end of the Commonwealth, they had ceaſed to cultivate their lands themſelves, and had abandoned that care to their ſlaves, who alſo followed trades; maſters making them work in their houſes upon every thing neceſſary to life. When their conqueſts had opened their way into Greece, they ſent their youth to Athens to ſtudy eloquence and the Greek tongue, which became the language of the ſciences amongſt the Romans, becauſe they had them from the Greeks. There were few perſons, except the loweſt of the People, who were not acquainted with the Greek poets, and principally Homer, of whom they took pleaſure in learning at leaſt the fineſt paſſages, in order to be able to quote ſome of his verſes on occaſion. This taſte prevailed long after the twelve Cæſars, in whoſe time it was much in faſhion; the Greek tongue being ſpoke ſo commonly then at Rome, that it was familiar even to the * ladies.

Suet. in vit. Aug. & Claud. Dion. Caſſ. l. 60.

On

* Quædam parva quidem, ſed non toleranda maritis.
Nam quid rancidius, quàm quod non ſe putat ulla
Formoſam, niſi quæ de Tuſca Græcula facta eſt,
De Sulmonenſi mera Cecropis? Omnia Græcè,
Cum ſit turpe magis noſtris neſcire Latinè.
Hoc ſermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,
Hoc cuncta effundunt animi ſecreta. Quid ultra?
Concumbunt Græcè. Dones tamen iſta puellis.
Tune etiam, quam ſextus & octogeſimus annus
Pulſat, adhuc Græcè? Non eſt hic ſermo pudicus
In vetula, quoties laſcivum intervenit illud
Ζωὴ καὶ ψυχή. *Juv.* Sat. VI. v. 183, &c.

Some faults, though ſmall, intolerable grow:
For what ſo nauſeous and affected too,
As thoſe that think they due perfection want,
Who have not learnt to liſp the Grecian cant?

In

On their return from Athens the youth were obliged to follow the bar, and to plead cauſes in ſome cities of the provinces. Cato, though employed in the improvement of his eſtate in the country, went to plead in the neighbouring cities. Tiberius, before he was Emperor, carried his ſon Druſus to Padua to practice the eloquence of the bar, though he had already been honoured with a triumph. Tiberius himſelf had pleaded before the tribunal of Auguſtus; and though he was Emperor, pleaded ſometimes for his friends. Nero alſo frequented the bar as an advocate; which was alſo practiſed by others of the firſt rank. Auguſtus was ſo fond of appearing eloquent, that he harangued every day during the war at Modena, and never ſpoke to the People without having prepared himſelf for it in a particular manner. Domitian was the only Emperor who treated the Learned injuriouſly: he baniſhed all the philoſophers from Rome and Italy.

Plut. in vit. Caton.

Suet. in vit. Tib.

Plut. in vit. J. Cæſ. Suet. in vit. Aug.

Id. in vit. Domit.

In proceſs of time, that is to ſay, ſome time before the ſeat of the empire was removed into the Eaſt, the ſciences and eloquence began to be leſs cultivated. The Barbarians admitted into the Roman armies, occaſioned this decline. Many of them, of a rude and ſavage diſpoſi-

In Greece their whole accompliſhments they ſeek,
Their faſhion, breeding, language, muſt be Greek:
But raw in all that does to Rome belong,
They ſcorn to cultivate their mother-tongue.
In Greek they flatter, all their fears they ſpeak,
Tell all their ſecrets,—nay,—they ſcold, in Greek:
Ev'n in the ſeat of love they uſe that tongue.
Such affectations may become the young:
But thou, old hag, of threeſcore years and three,
Is ſhewing of thy parts in Greek for thee?
Ζωη ᾧ ψυχη. Dryden.

tion,

tion, having obtained the empire, introduced great changes of manners. It is obſerved, that under Maximin Galerus, a Dacian by origin, who ſucceeded Diocleſian, eloquence was entirely aboliſhed; the advocates and civilians were either baniſhed, or killed: arts and ſciences ſeemed pernicious, and men of learning odious, to him. The judges, whom he ſent into the provinces, were groſs and ignorant ſoldiers, who not being attended by able lawyers, far from regarding the laws, had no other rule but their caprice. Adrian had ſet a very different example; for he diſpenſed juſtice aſſiſted by ſeveral civilians, with whoſe knowledge and integrity he was acquainted. This mixture of Barbarians with the Romans very much altered the purity of the Latin tongue, and made it degenerate by little and little into a groſs idiom, from the exalted height of elegance and purity, to which it had only attained by degrees in the time of Cicero and Auguſtus. Polybius, who lived above an age before Auguſtus, informs us, that in his time the Romans could not interpret the firſt treaty made with the Carthaginians by the two firſt Conſuls without difficulty. The Latin tongue attained its perfection under Auguſtus; but it began to be adulterated and to corrupt ſoon after.

Dion. Caſſ. l. 57.

III. *Decline of the ſciences.*

Spartian. l. 1. n. 18.

Polyb l. 3. Vol. I.

IV. *Ignorance of the early times.*

Before the taking of Rome by the Gauls, that city is obſerved to have been extremely ignorant: ſo few of the citizens could read and write, that the letters of the alphabet were almoſt unknown there. The characters uſed by the firſt Romans, were the ſame as thoſe of the antient Greeks. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis relates, that in the temple of Diana, built by Servius Tullius upon the Aventine hill, there were

Tacit. l. 11.

ſtill to be ſeen in his time the decrees of the aſ-
Dion. Hal. l. 4. c. 4. ſembly, held in conſequence of a treaty of alli-
ance with the Latines, engraven upon a pillar of braſs in thoſe antient characters; from whence he preſumes with ſome foundation, that the Romans derived their origin from the Greeks.

V. *No public ſchools.* During three ages there were no public ſchools at Rome for teaching children to read and write; their parents, when they were capable, took that care upon themſelves. It is alſo pretended, that
Liv. l. 7. the nail of braſs, which was antiently driven every year upon the Ides of September, that is to ſay the thirteenth, into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was originally invented to aſſiſt the ignorance of the People in knowing the number of years, who in order to that had only to caſt their eyes upon that of the nails. But in proceſs of time, that cuſtom was converted into a religious ceremony, to avert public calamities, as if the nail had been indued with ſuch a virtue. The honour of driving it into the temple was at firſt attached to the Magiſtrate called *Prætor Major* or *Urbanus*, afterwards to the Conſuls, and at length to a Dictator.

VI. *Manner of writing.* The Romans for writing uſed tablets, made of the bark of tree cut very thin and covered over ſlightly with wax, upon which they marked the letters with an iron bodkin, that was flat at the top, to efface upon occaſion what had been wrote: when thoſe iron bodkins were prohibited, that they might not be uſed as daggers, gold ones came into faſhion. They alſo uſed vellom * or parchment of different colours, yellow, purple, and white, upon which they wrote

* Sic raro ſcribis, ut toto non quater anno
Membranam poſcas. ——— *Hor.* L. II. Sat. 3.

in

in letters of gold or silver with reeds instead of quills. They had also for the same use leaves of a certain Egyptian plant, called *papyrus*, properly prepared; from which our *paper*, though very different, takes its name. They also wrote upon very fine linnen cloth, of which they made books in the form of rolls, which they unrolled as they read, and called each leaf or roll, *volumen*. They had also a short way of writing, which was much in use under the Emperors, that is to say, with marks, of which each signified a word. With this invention, which is ascribed to Mæcenas, the favourite of Augustus, they wrote as fast as one spoke, and could even follow the most rapid discourse. Suetonius tells us, that the Emperor Titus wrote by abbreviations as fast as one could speak. The depositions of witnesses, judiciary proceedings, deliberations of the Senate, and all the public acts, were reduced in that manner to writing, so that whatever had been pronounced or treated was taken down word for word. These sort of writers, or registers, were called *Notarii*, from their manner of writing by notes or marks: those who copied fair what had been so wrote in short hand, were called *Librarii* and *Antiquarii*. These notes or marks were different from figures, which were the same that are still used under the name of the Roman cypher, and are only numeral letters taken from the alphabet.

Plin. l. 13. c. 12.

Dion Cass. l. 55.

Suet. in vit. Tit. Vesp.

VII. *Of letters epistolary.*

They had a general form in writing letters: they generally began with the name of the writer, and of the person to whom they were addressed, and concluded with the term *Vale*, *Farewell*, or *Adieu*. They only observed, when they wrote to a person of superior rank, as to a Consul, or Emperor, to write the Consul's or Emperor's

peror's name first. When a Consul or an Emperor wrote, they always placed their own name before those of the persons to whom they addressed themselves. Augustus and Tiberius would not suffer themselves to be called Lords; but their successors, far from the same moderation, thought fit, not only to be called Lords, but that in writing to them the most magnificent epithets should be added, as the *Most high*, *Most sacred*, *Invincible*, and the like. In the body of the letter, the terms *Your Clemency*, or *Your Piety*, were used, as we now say *Your Majesty*; and in process of time the title of *Clarissimus*, or *Most illustrious*, was given to the Senators and persons of the first rank. The letters of the Emperors upon affairs of importance were always under two seals. The epistolary stile of the Romans in the time of the Commonwealth breathed their free spirit, and answered the form used in the beginning of the letter. This was not from their wanting politeness, especially after they had quitted the austerity of their antient manners, and became emulous of the Greeks: for when any one came to visit them, they never failed to meet him half way, and to embrace and take him by the hand, though of an inferior rank. When only two were together, the right hand was the place of honour. If any one entered whilst they were sitting, they rose up to do him honour, and did not meet in the streets without saluting each other, in the morning with the word *Ave*, and in the evening with *Salve*: and in taking their leaves they always used the compliment *Vale*. It was the custom to cover their heads with a corner of their robes, to defend them from the injuries of the weather; but when any acquaintance accosted them,

Tacit. Ann. l. 2. n. 28.

VIII. *Moderation of Augustus and Tiberius.*

IX. *Magnificent titles given the Emperors and Senators.*

Herod. l. 7.

X. *Of the politeness of the Romans.*

Suet. in vit. Ner. c. 13.

XI. *The right hand the place of honour.*

Plut. in vit. Pomp. & J. Cæs.

Id. in vit. Tib. Grac.

them, they immediately uncovered. Kiſſing the mouth or the eyes, was a way of ſaluting much practiſed amongſt them, either by way of compliment upon ſome dignity, or ſome happy event. Slaves kiſſed their maſter's hand, who held it out to them for that purpoſe. There were alſo occaſions, wherein the ſoldiers kiſſed the hands of their general, as upon his quitting his office; and they even ſtruck him in the hand, when he went to viſit them in their tents, whilſt ſick.

The Emperors alſo ſaluted their principal officers by a kiſs, as the *Præfectus Prætorio*, the Pro-conſuls, and perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit. Theſe marks of favour differed according to the more or leſs kind and humane character of the Emperor. The Romans treated the women, married or unmarried, with ſo much honour and reſpect, that it was prohibited to ſay the leaſt immodeſt word in their preſence: and when they met them in the ſtreets, they always gave them the way; which was obſerved even by the magiſtrates themſelves. They carried decency ſo high, that the fathers took care never to embrace their wives before their daughters. The near relations were permitted to kiſs their female kindred on the mouth; but it was in order to know whether they ſmelt of wine; for they were not allowed to drink it. This regularity and purity of manners ſupported themſelves only during the five firſt Centuries, and hardly ſo long, for they began to decline towards the end of the fifth. However, it is allowed, that at the time when the Romans were moſt polite, they never attained to that refined urbanity, or elegance of manners, which was in a manner natural to the Athenians.

Suet. in vit. Oth. Herod. l. 2. XII.

Emperors ſalute by a kiſs. XIII.

Honour paid the ladies.

Aul. Gell. l. 10. c. 23. Plin. l. 14. c. 13. XIV.

Wine prohibited to the women.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IV.

I. *Of habits.* II. *Of the robe called* Toga. III. *Of the robe* Prætexta. IV. *Of the* Latus-clavus. V. *Of the* Bulla. VI. *Of the robe* Lacerna. VII. *Of the* Synthesis. VIII. *The* Pullata. IX. *The* Paludamentum. X. *Military habits.* XI. *Use of linnen.* XII. *Of girdles.* XIII. *The women wore no stays.* XIV. *Colour of habits.* XV. *White habit in times of rejoicing.* XVI. *Rarity of silk.*

I. *Of habits.* AS to the manner in which the Romans dressed themselves, if we look back into the early times, we find their habits made only of different skins of beasts, to which succeeded coarse woollen stuffs, which they improved and made finer in process of time: for the life of the first Romans was so rude and gross, that it differed little from that of savages. When woollen stuffs were introduced, they made themselves ample tunics, with large sleeves, and so short, that they scarce reached the elbow. But we find under the Emperor Constantine, that they came down almost to the wrist. Over this ample tunic they bound a girdle or sash, and above all a robe without sleeves, like a large cloak, open before, called *Toga*. One end of it was brought over the left shoulder, in order that the right arm might be the more at liberty; and when they wanted to act in that habit, they wrapped it round the body like a sash, and made it fast with a knot.

II. *Of the robe called* Toga. Suet. in vit. Aug.

When the Romans became more opulent, the *Toga* was made of fine woollen cloth, generally white; however, they wore them of different colours.

colours. They quitted it in times of mourning and public calamities, to expreſs affliction. It was originally an habit of honour, and prohibited to the common people, who went about the city in the tunic only: but being become common to almoſt * every body, it diſtinguiſhed the rich from others only by the fineneſs of the ſtuff, and its being more ample. It was even common to both ſexes, till the women of quality made uſe of the robe called † *Stola*, and then the ‖ *Toga* was worn only by the vulgar women and courteſans.

III. *Of the robe* Prætexta. Plin. l. 8. c 48. Vell. Pat. l. 1. c. 11.

The robe called *Prætexta* had a great reſemblance to the Toga, and was worn by children of quality; by boys, from the age of fourteen, till they took the *Toga Virilis*, the habit of manhood, at ſeventeen; and by girls, from the time of puberty, till they were married. It was called *Prætexta*, from being bordered with purple. The magiſtrates, prieſts, and augurs, wore it in certain ceremonies. The Senators had under this robe a tunic ample enough, called *Latus-clavus*, which was long taken literally for an habit adorned with large ſtuds of purple like nail-heads, but has ſince been diſcovered to ſignify only a ſtuff with large ſtripes of purple,

IV. *Robe* Latus-clavus.

* Fortuna non mutat genus.
Videſne, ſacram metiente te viam
Cum bis ter ulnarum toga,
Ut ora vertat huc & illuc
Liberrima indignatio?
Hor. Epod. 4. *Ad Menam Pompeii Libertum.*

† ——————Numquid ego
Magno prognatum depoſco conſule cunnum,
Velatumque *Stola*, mea cum conferbuit ira?

‖ Nec magis——————
——————tenerum eſt femur, aut crus
Rectius; atque etiam melius perſæpe *Togatæ*.

the ſame as that called *Anguſtus-clavus*, which was peculiar to the Knights to diſtinguiſh them from the Senators, and which was alſo only a ſtuff with narrower ſtripes of the ſame colour. The children of the Senators did not wear the tunic *Latus-clavus* till after having taken the *Toga virilis*. Till then they had no other marks of diſtinction beſides the robe *Prætexta*, except

V. *Of the Bulla.* Antiq. du P. Montfauc. Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 101. Plin. ibid. Perſ. Sat. 3.

what was called *Bulla*, which was a little heart, or globe of gold, that hung down on their breaſts. Only the children of the *Curule*, that is to ſay the great, magiſtrates were allowed to wear the * *Bulla*. They had beſides many other kinds of robes, which all reſembled the *Toga* very much in the form of them. That called *Trabea*, was only a little ſhorter, and ſtriped with purple and white, and in proceſs of time with gold. We are told, that it had been

VI. *Of the robe Lacerna.* Suet. in vit. Claud. c. 6.

affected by the Kings of Rome. The *Lacerna* was a cloak for bad weather, and worn over the *Toga*. At firſt it was only uſed in war; it was tied before with a buckle, and had an hood added to it, called *Cucullus*, which was taken off at will. They had coarſe ones for winter, and fine for ſummer, but both of woollen ſtuff. Till Cicero's time, theſe cloaks were uſed only by the People, but as they were found commodious, all the world came into them, at firſt for the country, and afterwards for the city. The ladies themſelves wore them when they went out

* Cum primùm pavido cuſtos mihi purpura ceſſit,
Bullaque ſuccinctis laribus donata pependit.
Perſ. Sat. V. v. 30.
When firſt my childiſh robe reſign'd the charge,
And left me unconfin'd to live at large;
When now my golden Bulla (hung on high
To houſhold Gods) declar'd me paſt a boy. Dryden.

in

in the evening; and persons of quality, and even the Emperors, put them on over the *Toga*, when they went to the Forum or Circus: but those of the People were either brown or white, of the Senators, purple, and of the Emperors, scarlet. However it was customary to quit this cloak by way of respect, in the presence of the Emperor.

The *Synthesis* was another kind of very large robe or cloak, which they put on to eat in, as a more commodious habit for lying upon the beds at table. Martial tells us that in his time, there were persons, who out of an air of magnificence, changed them often during the repast. VII. *The* Synthesis. Mart. l. 34. Epig. 141.

The *Pullata Vestis* was an habit worn for mourning, and generally used by the common people. The colour of it was black or brown, and the fashion much the same as the *Lacerna*, having also an hood for the head. VIII. *The* Pullata.

The *Paludamentum* was a military robe, like that which the Greeks called *Chlamys*. It was worn over the cuirass, and was fastened with a buckle on the right shoulder; so that all the right side was uncovered for the more easily moving of the arm, as we see it in antique statues. IX. *The* Paludamentum.

The military habit was a close-bodied tunic, which reached half way down the thighs, over which the cuirass was put. With the military habit, when they performed some exercises, or rode on horseback, they put on certain drawers called *Campestre*, which served them instead of breeches: for they did not commonly wear them with long habits. X. *Military habit.* Amongst the military habits may also be reckoned a kind of vest, called *Sagum*, which the soldiers used in the army, and wore over the cuirass. Besides all these different garments, there were some Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 26.

peculiar to certain dignities and ceremonies, as the robe of triumph. Plautus in his comedies, which appeared at Rome about the five hundred and ſixty-ſixth year from its foundation, ſpeaks of ſeveral other kinds of habits, of which we know no more than the names, and which whoever ſhould undertake to deſcribe, would give us only mere conjectures; it not being poſſible to know all the different modes of them, nor the times when they were in faſhion. For tho' they did not change often, it is however certain, that luxury and the commerce with foreign nations, introduced ſeveral at different times.

XI. *Uſe of linnen.* Lampr. in vit. Alex. Sever.

Under theſe robes they uſually had two tunics; that next the ſkin ſerved inſtead of a ſhirt, for they wore no linnen. According to Lampridius, Alexander Severus was the firſt Emperor who uſed it: but the uſe of it did not become common till long after him. They did indeed remedy the inconveniences, which aroſe from the want of linnen, in bathing ſo often as they did. This under-tunic was the fineſt. Thoſe of the men were cloſe-bodied, without ſleeves, and reached no lower than half way the leg, differing in that from the women's, which were longer and wider, and had ſleeves, but came no lower than the elbows: they were made to ſit cloſe at the neck. If they were left open at top, it was looked upon as an air of liberty of one over-deſirous to pleaſe. The other tunic, which was very large, was worn longer by the women, than the men, and next immediately to the robe. In proceſs of time both men and women wore two or three tunics, without including that next their ſkin, and as that next the *Toga* was very large, they uſed a girdle or ſaſh to keep it cloſe, and bind it

it back when neceſſary. Theſe faſhes were different according to the age of the wearer, and ſerved alſo to put the money in, which people carried about them. A perſon was not thought to be dreſt decently without this cincture, and it was a mark of diſſolute manners not to have one, or to wear it too looſe. Suetonius, ſpeaking of Julius Cæſar, whoſe youth was not very regular, relates, that Sylla uſed to adviſe the nobility, *ut puerum male præcinctum caverent*, to take care of the youth with the looſe gown. Perſius ſays in the ſame ſenſe, *Sat.* III. XII. *Of girdles.* Lampr. in vit. Alex. Sever. Suet. in vit. J. Cæſ. c. 4. Dio. Caſſ. l. 43.

Non pudet ad morem diſcincti vivere Nattæ.

The men affected to wear it very high; and the ladies placed it immediately under their boſoms, which it ſerved to ſuſtain; for they neither uſed ſtays, nor bodice. This girdle was called *Caſſula*, and the part of it where they placed their jewels *Strophium*. But from the beginning of the Commonwealth, they added to the girdle an ornament, which was affixed to it, and marked the ſeparation of the breaſts. This was generally adorned with gold, pearls or other jewels, and made ſo as to form a kind of breaſt-plate or ſtomacher. Luxury added another robe or veil over this habit with a long train, which was called *Symare*. It was faſtened on the right ſhoulder with a claſp more or leſs rich, in order to leave the arm at liberty, which the ladies wore uncovered as well as the men. This *Symare* falling full from the other ſhoulder, formed a great number of plaits, which gave abundance of grace to this habit; and for that reaſon it was worn by the actreſſes upon the ſtage. XIII. *The women did not wear ſtays.* Iſid. l. 19. c. 33. XIV.

The moſt general colour of the Roman habits was white, which, except purple peculiar to the *Colour of habits.* Dio. Caſſ. in vit. Sever.

the great offices, was deemed the most honourable. The citizens in public rejoicings generally appeared in white robes, to denote their joy. Plutarch tells us, they did the same on private occasions of rejoicing, and that they wore a white * habit on their birth-days, which they celebrated annually, by giving a feast to their friends. Persons of quality were distinguished, as we have said before, by the fineness, neatness, and whiteness of their habits: and we find in authors of those times, that they often sent their robes to the fuller to be cleaned and whitened. The inferior people, to avoid that expence, generally wore brown cloths. Appian informs us, that from Julius Cæsar's time, distinction of habit was no longer observed at Rome; that the freedmen were confounded with the other citizens; that the slave was dress like his master; and that except the habit of Senator, the use of all the rest was indifferently allowed to all the world. In Domitian's time we find, that the Tribunes of the legions wore the robe *Latus-clavus*.

XV. *White habits worn in times of rejoicing.* Plut. Qu. Rom.

Suet. in vit Aug. n. 44. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 2.

Suet. in vit. Dom.

It was not the custom amongst the Romans to wear any arms in the city, sword, dagger, or even cane or staff; which continued to be observed till Adrian's time. The Emperors themselves conformed to this custom, except Galba, who, as Suetonius relates, wore a dagger, which hung from his neck.

Ibid. in vit. Galb.

When the Roman ladies went abroad in the city, they were generally dress in white; and in succeeding times chose indifferently the co-

* Ille repotia, natales, aliosve dierum
Festos albatus celebrat. *Hor.* L. II. *Sat.* ii. v. 60.
——————Negato,
Jupiter, hæc illi, quamvis te albata rogârit.
Pers. Sat. II. v. 40.

lour

lour they liked beſt: The freed-women were dreſt in black. Valerius Maximus tells us, that they did not go abroad without having their heads covered with veils; but that cuſtom, which virtue dictated, ſoon vaniſhed with purity of manners. They were always attended by their women, to whom, after the twelve Cæſars, ſucceeded Eunuchs. Such as walked in the ſtreets alone, were either courtezans or the wives of the common people. As to the ſtuffs they wore, they were entirely of wool under moſt of the Emperors, and were diſtinguiſhed only by the work, fineneſs, and colour. Auguſtus wore no other. Suetonius obſerves, that one day, that Emperor ſeeing a number of Romans in an aſſembly dreſt in dirty robes, cried out in great rage: *See thoſe Romans, thoſe maſters of the world, what a figure they make in their long robes!* which ſhews that luxury of dreſs, at leaſt amongſt the men, did not prevail in his time. Heliogabalus was the firſt Emperor, who wore a robe made entirely of ſilk, which was then called *Holoſerica*, becauſe ſilk came from the country of *Seres*, now called Cathay. Silk was ſo ſcarce in thoſe times, that it was ſold for its weight in gold; and above fifty years after we find its price not diminiſhed, by Aurelian's anſwer to his wife, who only deſired him to let her wear a robe made entirely of ſilk and dyed in purple. He refuſed her with ſaying, That he was far from valuing thread and gold at the ſame price. This Emperor would not wear a robe of ſilk; and only permitted women of quality to have tunics dyed in purple, whereas before they were not permitted to wear that colour. Changeable colours were very much the taſte of thoſe times.

Val. Max. l. 6. c. 2.

Suet. in vit. Aug. n. 40.

Herod. in Heliog. l. 5.

Vopiſc. in Aur. l. 7.

CHAPTER V.

I. *Of ſtuffs.* II. *Head-dreſs of the men.* III. *Time of taking the* Toga virilis, *or* robe of manhood. IV. *The firſt beard.* V. *Maids when marriageable.* VI. *Powder of gold uſed in the hair.* VII. *Falſe hair.* VIII. *Long beards.* IX. *Different head-dreſs of the Roman ladies.* X. *Pendants at the ears and other rich ornaments.* XI. *Pearls, diamonds, and other jewels.* XII. *Pendants at the ears.* XIII. *Pendants worn by men.* XIV. *Jewels much in faſhion amongſt the Roman ladies.* XV. *Of rings and ſeals.*

I. *Of ſtuffs.* THE Romans manufactured ſtuffs, in which they mixed a little ſilk: they made ſome, in which there were ſtripes of ſilk, gold, and linnen. Linnen did not begin to be commonly uſed, till toward the declenſion of the empire, when Egyptians came to ſettle amongſt them, and they made uſe of it in imitation of that people.

II. *Head-dreſs of the men.* Plut. in Tib Grac. The young Romans in the time of the Commonwealth, generally went bareheaded, and ſome wore a cap: but they moſt frequently covered their heads with a corner of their robe. The women combed back their hair, and tied it in a knot; the boys did the ſame, till they took the *toga virilis*, which was at the age of ſeventeen. This period was diſtinguiſhed by a feaſt given to their relations and friends, by way of rejoicing, that the young man was become capable of ſerving the Commonwealth. At the end of the feaſt, the robe *Prætexta* was taken

III. *Time of taking the* toga virilis.

off, and one entirely white put on him. His father attended by his friends conducted him afterwards to the temple, to make the customary sacrifices, and return thanks to the Gods, and from thence he was brought to the Forum, to teach him to quit the life of a child, and lead that of a man. They also entertained their relations and friends, when their children attained the age of puberty, and when their beard was shaved for the first time. The hair of their heads was cut off at the same time, which was a religious ceremony; for part of it was thrown into the fire in honour of Apollo, and the rest into the water in honour of Neptune, because hair is produced by humidity and heat. As to the beard, it was kept out of superstition in some box of value, as Nero's was, who put his into a box of gold, which he dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus. It was usual enough to shave for the first time on taking the *toga virilis*: some however deferred it longer, and to these it gave occasion for another feast and ceremony: for this action was considered as an act of religion.

IV. *The first beards.*

Suet. in vit. Neron. Dion. Cass. l. 60.

As to the maids, when they attained the age of marriage, they offered their babies to Venus, the *Bulla*, the little heart or ball of gold, mentioned above, which hung from the neck upon the breast, was taken from them: but they retained the robe *Prætexta*, which they continued to wear till married. In the beginning of the reigns of the Emperors, the Romans curled and perfumed their hair with scented oils. Afterwards those who affected a greater refinement of dress, powdered it with gold-dust, in order to make themselves appear the more beautiful. The Emperors Lucius Verus and Gallienus wore it in their hair. This fashion was taken from the Asiatics; for

V. *Maids marriageable.*

Pers. Sat. 2. Jd. Sat. 5.

VI. *Gold-dust to powder the hair.*

Trebell. Pol. l. 24.

for it subsisted among the Jews in the time of Solomon, as we find in the historian Josephus.

VII. *False hair.* Suet. Oth. n. 12.

It was also about the beginning of the empire, that the use of perukes or false hair, for those who had little, was introduced. The Emperor Otho, who had not much, used false. It is probable that this custom did not subsist in Julius Cæsar's time; for otherwise he would have used it, to prevent his baldness from being perceived, and the rather because it was thought a deformity in those days. Accordingly his soldiers did not fail to reproach him with it at his triumph, saying with a loud voice, *Calvum mœchum duximus Cæsarem; mariti, servate uxores.*

VIII. *Long beards.* Dio. Cass. l. 60.

They wore the beard long from the beginning of the Commonwealth, as we see in the account of the taking of Rome by Brennus, general of the Gauls. In the time of Scipio, and under the Emperors, they cut it: they began to wear them long again under Adrian, as appears on the medals of the Emperors. From the medals and antique marbles is also to be known how much the head-dress of the Roman ladies varied in different times. It consisted always of their hair; and the sole difference was in the manner of disposing it. They usually divided it before into equal parts with a bodkin, and the wives were distinguished from the maids by the manner in which it was separated: however, there are antique bustos, in which there is no separation. They curled and adjusted it differently, for they covered it with a net, put it into a kind of purse which came close about the head, tied it behind in form of a knot, or bound it back and plaited it with ribands. They took great care to wash it in order to make it more beautiful and shining, as is still practised in some parts of Italy; and they used the most exquisite

IX. *Different head-dress of the Roman ladies.*

perfumes and essences in it. During a great length of time they covered their heads with a large black veil. Pearls and jewels were also a part of their ornaments. They wore pendants at their ears, adorned their head-dress with jewels, and sometimes twisted their locks in chains of gold.

X. *Pendants and other rich ornaments.* Val Max. l. 6. c. 2. Plin. l. 9. c. 35.

It is to be observed that among the Romans, and even all the antients, pearls were much more esteemed than they are at present, and that diamonds were very scarce, not becoming common till after the commerce with the Indies. They did not know even how to cut and polish them to such perfection as the moderns do. But as to coloured stones, they were not scarce; and they knew how to cut them either hollow or in relief perfectly well. The Roman ladies wore necklaces and bracelets, not only of pearls but precious stones. The antique statue of Lucilia, the wife of Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius's collegue, represents her with bracelets of three rows. They had also another kind of bracelet, called *Spinther*, which they wore near the elbow on the left arm. During a long series of time, under the Commonwealth, only the freedmen and their children had their ears bored to distinguish them from those born of free parents. But when luxury had gained ground, young people of quality, and even men, caused their ears also to be bored, in order to wear pendants and pearls in them like the women. It is observed that Cæsar, before he obtained the empire, did this fashion great honour, which prevailed till Alexander Severus prohibited the use of it to men. As to jewels, the Roman ladies were so fond of them for a time, that Lollia Paulina, whom Agrippina caused to be put to death, for having attempted to marry

Hor. l. 1. Sat 2.

XI. *Of pearls, diamonds, and precious stones.* Plin. l. 37. c. 4.

XII. *Pendants for the ears.* Antiq. de Montfau. Plin. l. 9. c. 35. Juv. Sat. 6.

XIII. *Pendants in the ears of men.* Suet. Cæs. Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sever.

XIV. *Jewels much in fashion among the*

Roman ladies. Tac. l. 3.

marry the Emperor Claudius in competition with her, had of them to the amount of almoſt an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. Luxury at length became ſo general, that the wives of the common people wore rings, or a kind of chains of ſilver about their feet. This taſte for jewels produced another for rings, which both men and women wore. At firſt they had only rings of iron or gold, according to the difference of condition, which ſerved them as ſeals, and which they wore on the fourth finger. They afterwards added a ſtone finely engraved to it by way of ſeal: and when luxury had taken place of this firſt ſimplicity, the uſe of gems and precious ſtones was introduced. They wore them on the fore-finger by way of ornament; afterwards they added another on the little finger, * ſo that all the fingers had them, except the middle one. At length through a refinement of luxury, they uſed to change them according to the ſeaſons, and † had light rings for ſummer, and heavy ones, ſet with larger ſtones, for winter.

XV. *Of rings and ſeals.*

* ——————————Sæpe notatus
Cum tribus annellis, modò læva Priſcus inani
Vixit inæqualis. *Hor.* Sat. VII. l. 2.

† ——————————Cum verna Canopi
Criſpinus, Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet æſtivum digitis ſudantibus aurum,
Nec ſufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ,
Difficile eſt Satiram non ſcribere. *Juv.* Sat. I.

When I behold the ſpawn of conquer'd Nile
Criſpinus, both in birth and manners vile,
Pacing in pomp, with cloak of Tyrian dye
Chang'd oft a day for needleſs luxury;
And finding oft occaſion to be ſann'd,
Ambitious to produce his lady hand;
Charg'd with light ſummer rings his fingers ſweat
Unable to ſupport a gem of weight:
Such fulſome objects meeting every where,
'Tis hard to write, but harder to forbear. Dryden.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

I. *Gold rings peculiar to the Knights.* II. *Attention of the Roman ladies to improve their beauty.* III. *False teeth.* IV. *Of the toilets of the ladies.* V. *Manner of dressing the legs.* VI. *Of shoes.* VII. *Of the military dress for the legs.* VIII. *Dress of the legs worn by the magistrates.* IX. *The fame of slaves.* X. *The antient Romans went barefoot.*

I. *Gold rings peculiar to the Knights*

ONLY the Knights and Senators were permitted to wear the gold ring in the early times of the Commonwealth. It was long a distinction peculiar to the dignity of Roman knights, as appears from what Dion relates in respect to Mœnas the freedman of Sextus Pompeius, whom Augustus made a Knight. That author observes, that he granted him permission to wear the gold ring; a privilege which could only be conferred by the Prince on his freedmen, because antiently none but Senators or Knights could wear this ring. Dion Cass. l. 48.

We shall not be surprized that so simple a distinction was used to express the second order of the Nobility, when we consider, that till the war with Tarentum gold was very scarce at Rome. In process of time the opulence of her citizens emboldened them, towards the end of the Commonwealth, to wear the gold ring indiscriminately. Pliny observes, the Knights were not the only persons graced with that ornament in the time of the second Punic war, as Hannibal, after his victory at Cannæ, caused three bushels of them to be collected out of the Plin. l 33, c. 1.

ſpoils of the Romans, which he ſent to Carthage: which agrees with what Appian relates, that in the laſt Punic war the Tribunes of the Roman legions were diſtinguiſhed from the ſoldiers by the gold rings which they wore on their fingers, whilſt the latter had only iron ones. The firſt Emperors granted that favour to many of their freedmen. There is reaſon to believe that the ring of the Knights had ſomething peculiar in it to expreſs their dignity: but authors do not give us the lights one could deſire upon this head. Soon after the twelve Cæſars, all the free-born Romans wore the gold ring, the freed-men one of ſilver, and the ſlaves one of iron.

Appian. de Bell. Lyb.

As long as the Romans led a ſimple, frugal, and laborious kind of life, their wives, after their example, employed in domeſtic cares, which they even divided with their ſlaves, were more attentive to ſhine by their virtues, than by the ſplendor of their ornaments. But when riches had given them a taſte for the conveniences of life, they referred the care of their houſhold to their freed-women, and were ſolely engroſſed by that of pleaſing; a care unknown to their grandmothers, ſhut up in the inmoſt part of their houſes, and devoted to uſeful occupations. It was at this time, that the cuſtom of chuſing nurſes for their children amongſt their ſlaves and freed-women became uſual; idolatry for their beauty having taken place of their maternal tenderneſs. At length, the ladies uſed all that art could furniſh them with, in order to appear beautiful, and ſupply what nature had denied them. Not only ornaments and paint were employed, but the moſt exceſſive refinements of luxury and voluptuouſneſs

neſs became common. The authors of thoſe times, and eſpecially the ſatyric poets, abound with fine ſtrokes upon this head. To ſhew to what an height they carried their paſſion for their beauty, it ſuffices to repeat what Dion Caſſius ſays of Poppæa, firſt miſtreſs, and afterwards wife of Nero, whom he cauſed to be followed in all his journeys by herds of ſheaſſes, the milk of which was uſed to make her baths, for preſerving the whiteneſs and delicacy of her ſkin. The Roman ladies were ſo curious in this reſpect, that they uſed a certain compoſition for preſerving the freſhneſs of their complexions, with which they made a paſte, that they laid upon their * faces like a maſk. They had alſo recourſe to white ceruſs; and as to red, Plautus is the only author of thoſe times that mentions their uſing it, which he calls *Purpuriſſum*. Horace ſays nothing of it any where. They took no leſs care of their teeth; and the art of ſubſtituting falſe ones to thoſe they wanted, was already very common, as well as that of making and painting an eye-

II. *Attention to improve their beauty.* Dion Caſſ. l. 60.

III. *Falſe teeth.* Mart. l. Ep. 40.

* ——————Fœda aſpectu, ridendaque multo
Pane tumet facies, aut pinguia Poppæana
Spirat, & hinc miſeri viſcantur labra mariti.
——————————————Fovetur
Tot medicaminibus, coctæque ſiliginis offas
Accipit & madidæ; facies dicetur, an ulcus?
Juv. Sat. VI.

She duly once a month renews her face;
Mean time, it lies in dawb, and hid in greaſe.
Thoſe are the husband's nights; ſhe craves her due,
He takes fat kiſſes, and is ſtuck in glue:
But to the lov'd adult'rer when ſhe ſteers,
Freſh from the bath, in brightneſs ſhe appears.

But hadſt thou ſeen her plaiſter'd up before,
'Twas ſo unlike a face, it ſeem'd a ſore. Dryden.

brow

brow successfully. The same authors also inform us of their attention in consulting their glasses for the adjustment of their head-dress; * describing ingeniously their starts of rage and revenge, when the women who dressed them, that were either their slaves or their freed-women, did not succeed according to their liking.

IV. *Of the toilets of the ladies.* Hence we may conclude, that they did not employ less time at their toilet, than the ladies of the present age; but then it was in them an act of religion, and sacrificing to Venus and the Graces. We do not find it mentioned any where, that they made use of patches to exalt the whiteness of their skin, and improve the air of their features: in all probability that aid was unknown to them. At length they carried their luxury so far as to use pearls and precious stones upon their legs and feet, which was also done by some of the Emperors.

V. *Manner of dressing the legs.* The usual dress for the legs both of men and women were of two kinds; the one close, the other open. The latter was a kind of sandals, *The sock.* composed of soles which covered the bottom of the feet, and were fastened to ribbands, or thongs of leather, that came cross the foot in

* Nuda humeros Psecas infelix, nudisque mamillis,
Altior hic quare cincinnus? Taurea punit
Continuo flexi crimen facinusque capilli.
Quid Psecas admisit? Quænam est hîc culpa puellæ,
Si tibi displicuit nasus tuus? *Juv.* Sat. VI.

She hurries all her handmaids to the task;
Her head alone will twenty dressers ask.
Psecas the chief, with breast and shoulders bare
Trembling, considers ev'ry sacred hair:
If any straggler from his rank be found,
A pinch must for the mortal sin compound.
Psecas is not in fault: but in the glass
The dame's offended at her own ill face. Dryden.

different

different manners, and were twiſted ſeveral times round the leg above the ancle. The other, which was cloſe, covered the foot, and came as high as the thickeſt part of the leg: it had an opening before, which was laced. Horace and Ovid inform us, neatneſs and decency required, that the dreſs of the leg, whether ſandal or buſkin, ſhould ſit well and even upon it. The ſhoe annexed to it ended in a point that turned back a little, and for that reaſon was called in Latin *Calceus roſtratus*. For ſome time the ladies wore a kind of high-heeled buſkins, or pantofles, which made them appear taller. The advantage of this kind of buskin to the wearer, made the uſe of it common in weddings, in order to give the ſtature of the bride a more graceful appearance. The dreſs of the legs worn by officers and ſoldiers, and which was called military, differed in nothing from the cloſe ſort, or buſkin, except in its being ſtronger and fitter for marching, having the ſole ſtudded with nails. The uſual dreſs of the legs worn by men was made of black leather, and that of women either of white or red ſtuff. On ceremonial occaſions that of the great Magiſtrates, as well as of the Emperors, were of purple: the Senators, Patricians, and their children, wore by way of diſtinction between the ancle and heel, a kind of * creſcent of gold, ſilver, or ivory, ſometimes ſet with pearls and precious ſtones, which ſerved them inſtead of buckles for faſtening on their ſhoes.

VI. *The buſkin.*

VII. *Of ſhoes.*

VIII. *Military dreſs of the feet.*

Dreſs of the feet worn by magiſtrates

Plut. Qu. Rom. 76.

* Fœlix, & ſapiens, & nobilis, & generoſus,
Appoſitam nigræ lunam ſubtexit alutæ.
Juv. Sat. VII. v. 192.

——— ——— ——— *Quintilian*
Wiſe, happy, noble, generous beſide,
Claſp'd the black buſkin with the creſcent's pride.

Suet. in vit. Aug. Suetonius tells us that Augustus affected to wear shoes something higher than usual, in order to seem taller than he was. We cannot tell what kind of dress for the feet this was; for in antient monuments we find nothing that can give us an idea of it. To conclude, the dress of the feet of the Romans varied at different times.

IX. *Dress of the feet worn by slaves.* At first, and during a great length of time, they were made of undress'd leather. As to slaves, they were not permitted to wear shoes at Rome, but only a kind of wooden sandals.

X. *The antient Romans went barefoot.* They generally walked barefoot, which was long practised even by the Roman citizens in the time of the Commonwealth. For it is observed, that Scipio, † Cato, and in later times Germanicus, went almost always without shoes, for the sake of conforming in that respect to the simplicity of their ancestors, from which however Rome had much departed in Cato's time, and still more in the time of Germanicus. Luxury and sloth had attained to such an height, that in the time of Cicero, not only the magistrates, and principal persons of the Commonwealth, but even all the citizens of fortune of both sexes, were carried both in the city, and when they went to take the air in the country. The rich citizens had * saddle-horses expressly for that use.

Plut. in vit. Caton.

Cic. pro Milone.

† Quid? si quis vultu torvo ferus, & pede nudo,
Exiguæque togæ simulet textore Catonem,
Virtutemne repræsentet moresque Catonis?
Hor. L. I. Epist. 19.
——— ——— ——— ——— *How?*
Barefoot should any one, with look austere,
Like Cato, a short vulgar tunic wear,
Would he, with that contempt of dress, assume,
The manners, virtues, of that soul of Rome?

* Et Appiam mannis terit. *Hor.* Epod. 4.
And spurns the Appian with his pacing nags.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

I. *Of litters.* II. *Chariots of the Emperors.* III. *Chariots for travelling expeditiously.* IV. *Kind of post.* V. *Of the great ways or roads.* VI. *Messengers of the galleys.* VII. *Form of the chariots.*

CArriages, which multiplied still more under the Emperors, were either close or open litters, carried by * six or eight men, who were generally slaves. There was room in them only for two, and both were under cover from the weather: the former did not become common till under the Emperors. According to Dion Cassius, the Emperor Claudius was the first who used them. The use of them afterwards became general, except for the ladies, who, according to the same author, in his time were carried only in little open litters. They were more or less magnificent, according to the quality, rank, or luxury that prevailed. They were also used in travelling, as we find in Plutarch's Life of Cicero, who commanded his domestics to set down his litter, when Herennius, who was sent by Mark Antony to kill him, overtook him. We must not however imagine, that they knew no other carriages, as in the time of the Kings they made use of chariots. Tullia, the wife of Tarquin the Proud, commanded the coachman who drove her cha-

I. *Of litters.*

Dion Cass. l. 60.

* ——— Cum jam sexta cervice feratur
Hinc atque inde patens. *Juv.* Sat. I. v. 64.
——— *When lolling at his ease,*
Mæcenas-like the happy rogue he sees,
Born by six weary'd slaves in open view. Dryden.

riot, to drive over the body of her father, that lay in the ſtreet. From the reign of the laſt Kings, the Roman ladies uſed a kind of chariot called *Carpentum*, but only in certain ceremonies: and Livy tells us, that about the three hundred and ſixty firſt year, under the Military Tribunes, they were granted the privilege of uſing another kind of chariot called *Pilentum*, which was covered, whereas the other was open; upon condition however that they ſhould uſe it only in going to the ſacrifices, games, and on feſtival days; and that on other days they ſhould appear only in open chariots. But the ſimplicity of the life of the Romans, and their indigence, rendered that regulation uſeleſs. When equipages became common, the litter was preferred: for during the Commonwealth chariots were only uſed in certain ceremonies of religion, for the pomp of triumphs, and the races of the Circus. In the two laſt they had only two wheels. It was not till late enough, under the Emperors, that the uſe of chariots, which afterwards became ſo common, was introduced, as the Emperor Adrian uſed only a litter in the city. There were two kinds of chariots, as well as waggons for baggage, the one with two, and the other with four, wheels. The firſt were the leaſt, and the uſe of them was more antient than of thoſe with four, which were larger and more modern: the Emperors and principal Magiſtrates were the firſt that uſed them. Magnificence was no leſs evident in equipages than other furniture. The Emperors had chariots of ſilver, and others gilt with gold and ſilver, and adorned with ivory and other precious materials. Alexander Severus permitted even the common people to adorn them

Dion Caſſ. l. 60.

II. *Chariots of the Emperors.*

Vopiſc. l. 27. in vit. Aurel. Dion Caſſ. l. 60.

them with ſilver: for in that Emperor's time they were the equipages moſt uſed at Rome, where litters were entirely laid aſide. The chariots of the Emperors, and perſons of great diſtinction, were drawn either by mules or white horſes, which were more eſteemed. Some Emperors had alſo armed chariots, which they made uſe of in the field to break the enemy.

III. *Chariots for travelling expeditiouſly.*

The Romans in travelling, for the ſake of expedition, made uſe of certain ſmall chariots with two wheels, which were very light, becauſe uſually made of oſiers. There was room in them only for one to ſit, and they were drawn by three mules one before the other. This chariot ſerved them inſtead of the modern poſt-chaiſes, except that it was not poſſible to travel in them at eaſe, being neither covered nor ſlung. Suetonius probably ſpeaks of the ſame equipage, when he ſays, that Julius Cæſar travelled an hundred miles a day in an hired chariot; which might on ſome occaſions ſupply the expedition of poſts, the Romans having none regular. Auguſtus indeed had an idea of ſuch an inſtitution, when in order to be informed of what paſſed in the provinces with greater diſpatch, he cauſed young perſons who ran, to be placed at ſmall diſtances from each other. He inſtituted public carriages, which Antoninus Pius rendered more commodious for travellers. The latter deſigned alſo to have repaired the great ways or roads, which had been the care of the Commonwealth, long before the reign of the Emperors. She had cauſed great roads to be made from Rome to the extremities of Italy. There are ſtill to be ſeen magnificent remains of thoſe called the *Appian*, *Flaminian*, and *Æmilian*, ways, which have ſubſiſted about two thouſand years.

Suet. in vit. J. Cæſ.

IV. *Kind of poſt.* Suet. in vit. Aug. & Veſp.

V. *Of the great ways or roads.*

years. They are paved with such hard stones, that they are rather polished than worn; and so well joined, that in some places the whole breadth of the way seems of one piece: There is on each side a path raised above a foot for the convenience of foot-travellers. In the Emperor Vespasian's time, there were persons expressly appointed to go and come between Ostia and Rome. They went their stage barefoot; and were called messengers of the galleys: but this falls exceedingly short of the posts, so well established in the present age.

VI. *Messengers of the galleys.* Suet. in vit. Vesp.

Trebellius Pollio is the only author who mentions suspended chariots on the occasion of Zenobia, who appeared in such a chariot in the superb triumph of Aurelian; for amongst the antique marbles and medals, which represent triumphal chariots, we find none suspended or slung. They appear in the form of a tub or drum adorned and carved, and placed upon two or four wheels, without either a roof against the weather, or a seat for the coachman, unless he sate on the side of the front of that sort of chariot, to which generally two mules abreast were harnassed. There are representations of these chariots, wherein, though embellished, we see them drawn, like waggons, by a yoke of oxen. One might conjecture that they made use of oxen when they travelled; for they employed those animals more commonly than horses in drawing, and plowed their lands only with them.

Treb. Pol. l. 25.

VII. *Form of chariots.*

But to continue the history of luxury; it was not confined to the dress of the ladies; it extended universally; but it shewed itself in nothing so much as in the public buildings, and even private houses.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

I. *Of houſes.* II. *Unknown kind of plaiſter.* III. *Grandeur of Rome.* IV. *Manner of building houſes.* V. *Courts of houſes.* VI. *Height of houſes.* VII. *No chimneys.* VIII. *Portable furnaces.* IX. *Kind of ſtoves to heat rooms.* X. *Manner of cooling apartments in ſummer.* XI. *What uſed inſtead of glaſs for windows is unknown.* XII. *Of ciſterns.* XIII. *Of hoſpitality.* XIV. *Tally, or certificate, of hoſpitality.* XV. *Porticos for the different ſeaſons.* XVI. *Rooms to eat in on the tops of the houſes.* XVII. *Of libraries.* XVIII. *Baths.* XIX. *Stoves.* XX. *Of the Thermæ.* XXI. *The Tiber the firſt bath of the Romans.* XXII. *Simple beds of the antient Romans.* XXIII. *Beds.* XXIV. *Form of beds.* XXV. *Of ſeats.* XXVI. *Tapeſtry.* XXVII. *Taſte for painting and ſculpture.* XXVIII. *Tables of curious wood.* XXIX. *Of veſſels and plate.*

I. *Of houſes.*

THE city of Rome, till the time when it was burnt by the Gauls, conſiſted only of thatched houſes and poor cottages. That calamity proved advantagious to it; for it was rebuilt in a more ſolid and commodious manner. However, it is obſerved, that till the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy, the houſes were covered only with planks and boards. The Romans in their buildings uſed bricks more commonly than ſtone; and for mortar and plaiſter, lime mixed with ſand, or with a certain red earth, which they ſtill uſe in that country. They had the ſecret of making mortar, which became harder than ſtone itſelf, as appears from Plin. l. 16. c. 10.

the ruins of their buildings. They did not not know the plaiſter of France, called plaiſter of Paris, which to this day is not uſed by the greateſt part of Italy. Auguſtus ſaid that he had found Rome of brick, but ſhould leave it of marble. From whence may be judged the magnificence of the houſes and public buildings erected in his time. Under the firſt Emperors marble was employed in them more commonly than ſtone had been before. To adorn them, every thing moſt curious and valuable was uſed; gilding, paintings, ivory, fine woods, precious ſtones; none of which were ſpared. The pavement of the lower apartments were either inlaid marble, or Moſaic work. The city was never more magnificent than after Nero had cauſed it to be ſet on fire, at which time two thirds of it were burnt down. It is ſaid that after it was rebuilt, there were forty-eight thouſand houſes ſeparate from each other in it: for that Emperor, in cauſing the houſes to be rebuilt, ordered that they ſhould be ſeparate from each other, and even fixed their height. From this period, and long after Trajan, it was the moſt ſuperb city in the world: and if we conſider the great number of its public buildings, their beauty and ſolidity, of which ſome ſubſiſt to this day, we ſhall agree that the Romans ſought no leſs to immortalize themſelves by their works, than by their actions. To reflect upon the great number of baths or *Thermæ*, which were vaſt and ſumptuous buildings, the *Baſilicæ*, or public halls, which for magnificence gave place to them in nothing; the Theatres, Amphitheatres, Circus's, *Naumachiæ*, Forums, and other public ſtructures, amongſt which were libraries open to all lovers of the

II. *Plaiſter unknown* Dion. Caſſ. l. 56.

III. *Grandeur of Rome.* Tac. Ann. l. 15.

the ſciences, * where the ſtatues of thoſe who had excelled in them, were placed in honour of their memories; and laſtly, to conſider the aqueducts, which had been made for bringing better waters than thoſe of the Tiber: all expreſs the immenſe power and grandeur to which Rome had attained. The very common-ſewers argued this: they were ſo many great vaulted ſtreets made under thoſe of the city, in order to keep it always clean, by receiving the filth, which they carried off into the Tiber, by the means of ſtreams, that were expreſsly turned into theſe ſubterraneous canals. All this, with the fine ſtructure of private houſes, formed a city as much above all others in its magnificence and beauty, as the extent of its power. This ſmall ſketch ſuffices for giving an exact idea of it: more particular accounts would be foreign to my ſubject. Plin. l. 36. c. 15.

IV. *Manner of building the houſes.*

When the Commonwealth was at the height of its greatneſs, the houſes of principal perſons were laid out in ſuch a manner, that before the gate there was a kind of portico ſupported by pillars, and intended to ſhelter the clients from the weather who came in the morning to pay their court to their patron.

V. *Courts of the houſes.*

The court was uſually ſurrounded with flights of chambers, that opened into porticos. At the entrance of the houſe was a large hall, or rather † gallery, adorned with

* ——————Beatus Fannius ultro
Delatis capſis & imagine; cum mea nemo
Scripta legat.——— *Hor.* L. I. Sat. iv.
To Cæſar's library bleſt Fannius flies,
There leaves his buſto, and his rhapſodies:
Whilſt none read what I write.———

† Tota licet veteres exornent undique ceræ
Atria, nobilitas ſola eſt atque unica virtus.
Juv. Sat. VIII.

Long

with the ſtatues in wax, ſilver, or marble, of the maſter of the houſe's anceſtors, with a ſhort account of their greateſt actions. In this place people waited till the great perſon was viſible. However, according to Polybius, there was a room on the top of the houſe, which was conſidered as a kind of chapel, in which the figures of their anceſtors were placed. Care was taken on certain feſtival days and public ſolemnities to uncover and adorn them. When any man of conſideration of the family died, theſe figures were carried in proceſſion at his funeral; at which time the reſt of the body was added to them, in order to make the likeneſs the greater. They were dreſt according to the dignities thoſe they repreſented had enjoyed; in the Conſular robe, if they had been Conſuls; in the triumphal, if they had triumphed; and ſo on of the reſt. It is eaſy to reconcile the difference of other authors from this paſſage of Polybius, by obſerving that thoſe authors are poſterior to him; that in his time, pomp and luxury had not made ſo great a progreſs as under the Emperors; that under them, the Romans ſetting no bounds to their magnificence, had halls below or porticos in their houſes, where they placed great ſtatues of marble, or ſome other precious materials, which did not hinder them from keeping the buſtos of the ſame anceſtors in upper apartments, in order to uſe them in funeral ceremonies, as being more commodious to carry than marble ſtatues.

Polyb. l. 6.

VI. *Height of the houſes.* All the houſes were of two ſtories, without including the low one at bottom under the

Long galleries of anceſtors, and all
The follies which ill grace a country hall,
Challenge no wonder or eſteem from me.
Virtue alone is true nobility. Stepney.

firſt.

firſt. On the firſt were halls of audience and lodging-rooms, and on the ſecond, the eating-rooms and the apartments of the women. It is not known how their chimneys were made, and whether they had any except in their kitchens: it appears however that they ſeldom had any in the apartments; but to ſupply the want of them they had portable furnaces, or fire-pans, in which they burnt a certain wood, that being rubbed with the dregs of olives after the oil was preſſed out of them, did not ſmoke. Seneca ſays, that in his time certain pipes were invented, which being affixed in the walls, warmed the chambers equally to the upper ſtory, by the means of fires made in furnaces diſpoſed along the bottom of the walls. We find that during ſummer, to cool the rooms, they alſo made uſe of pipes, which roſe from vaults, from whence they drew the cool air, which they diſperſed in its courſe into the apartments. We are ſtill in ignorance as to what they uſed in their windows, for letting the light into rooms, and to keep out the injuries of the weather: it was perhaps linnen-cloth, or ſome ſtuff equivalent to it. For it is certain, though glaſs was not unknown to them, as they made drinking-veſſels of it, that they did not uſe it like us for windows. Nero employed for that uſe a certain tranſparent ſtone like alabaſter, cut in ſquares, through which the light appeared. And the hiſtorian Joſephus ſpeaks of a different kind of ſubſtance applied to that uſe, but without explaining himſelf clearly. He tells us that the Emperor Caligula, giving audience to Philo, ambaſſador from the Jews of Alexandria, in a gallery of one of his palaces near Rome, ordered the windows to be ſhut, upon account of the wind that incommoded

VII. *No chimneys.*

VIII. *Portable furnaces.*

IX. *Kind of ſtove to heat rooms.*

X. *Manner of cooling apartments in ſummer.*

XI. *What uſed inſtead of glaſs for windows not known.*

Joſeph. in legat. Philon.

ded him. He adds, that thoſe windows, which kept out the wind, and let in only the light, were ſo clear and ſhining, that they might have been taken for rock-criſtal. He would not have had occaſion to have made ſo looſe and indeterminate a deſcription, if they had been glaſs, which was ſo well known by the veſſels made of it. It was perhaps a kind of ſtone which, Pliny ſays, was common in Spain, would ſplit in leaves like ſlate, and was as tranſparent as glaſs. We do not know whether it was as brittle; but it is certain that it admitted the rays of light, and might be ſeen through: it was perhaps *Talk*. But there are many things of antiquity of which we have but imperfect notions. This is not our caſe in reſpect to ciſterns: we are certain that there were public as well as private ones, in great houſes. The inner court, which was called *Impluvium*, was contrived in ſuch a manner, as to receive the rain-water from the whole building, which it conveyed into the ciſtern.

XII. *Of ciſterns.*

In the times of Rome's grandeur, her principal citizens built ſpacious houſes, in order to have ſpare-apartments for the ſtrangers who viſited them, thinking it for their honour to exerciſe hoſpitality in imitation of the Greeks. This hoſpitality was a correſpondence between perſons of different countries, who through friendſhip contracted this mutual obligation with each other, and even tranſmitted it to their deſcendants. The pledge and certain evidence of this convention, conſiſted of a piece of marked wood, that they called *Teſſera hoſpitalitatis*, of which no nearer idea can be given than to compare it with thoſe tallies, that certain trades uſe to expreſs the quantity of what they ſupply. In the

XIII. *Of hoſpitality.* Liv. l. 19.

XIV. *Tally or certificate of hoſpitality.*

ſame manner theſe *Teſſeræ* were a piece of wood marked, and ſo cut, that ſeparate it made two, but joined again, it tallied ſo exactly, as ſhewed it had been but one; beſides which ſome characters were cut upon it. It was by this method they knew the perſons with whom they had contracted engagements of hoſpitality. For when they had entered into that contract, each kept one of theſe tallies, which did not only ſerve thoſe who had this right, perſonally, but alſo ſuch as they thought fit to lend it to; ſo that the bearer of this kind of certificate was as well received, lodged, and entertained, as he to whom it belonged.

To make an end of giving an idea of the manner in which the houſes of perſons of condition were laid out: They had all porticos, or piazzas, to walk in under cover from the ſun and weather, and ſituated to the Eaſt for the conveniency of the different ſeaſons, with apartments for ſummer and winter, and rooms only to eat in, which were always in the higheſt part of the houſe. This was a cuſtom ſo generally eſtabliſhed amongſt them, that almoſt all the country-houſes had a tower above the body of the building, which uſually was but one ſtory, and upon the top of that tower was a room with large openings on all ſides ſolely to eat in. Thus with the pleaſure of the table they could unite that of viewing the beauties and various proſpects of the neighbouring country.

XV. *Porticos and galleries for the different ſeaſons.*

XVI. *Rooms to eat in.*

In many houſes of the perſons of fortune were fine libraries, and baths in all thoſe of the rich, which were always placed near the eating-rooms, becauſe it was the cuſtom to bathe before they ſat down to table. For from the time that the frequent uſe of baths had been brought from Greece and Aſia to Rome, the Romans conceived

XVII. *Of libraries.*

conceived a great taſte for them, and thought them as eſſential to health, as nouriſhment itſelf; which obliged them to erect public ones,

XVIII. *Of baths.* that multiplied to ſuch a degree, that under the Emperors they amounted to eight hundred. Agrippa only, in the reign of Auguſtus, cauſed above an hundred to be built. They were uſually laid out in different apartments, which formed different baths, of which the two firſt were for the common people, who paid ſcarce half a * farthing *per* head for the uſe of them, and children were admitted *gratis*. As to others, the price augmented in proportion to the manner in which they were ſerved. There were people to do all neceſſary offices. In each of them were hot, warm, and cold baths, ſo that every one might chuſe. There were chambers on the ſides for undreſſing and dreſſing, where people were rubbed, and trimmed with nippers. To clean the ſkin they made uſe of a certain inſtrument, which they called † *Strigil*, made of ſilver, copper, or ivory, bent like a ſcythe; and afterwards to ſmooth it, they rubbed it with a pumice-ſtone. They next poured odoriferous oils prepared for that uſe upon it. In theſe baths

XIX. *Of ſtoves.* were ſtoves. The authors of thoſe times obſerve, that the news of all that paſſed in the city was ſpread at the baths, and even that ‖ works of wit were firſt read there.

* ——————Dum tu quadrante lavatum
Rex ibis.—— *Hor.* L. I. Sat. iii.
Whilſt for a farthing bath'd you ſtrut a King.

† I, puer, & ſtrigiles Criſpini ad balnea defer.
Perſ. Sat. V.
Go boy, and ſcrapers bear to Criſpin's bath.

‖ —————— In medio qui
Scripta foro reſonent ſunt multi, quique lavantes.
Hor. L. I. Sat. iv.
The Forum rings with verſe, the baths reſound;
Crouds of repeating bards in both are found.

At

At the firſt eſtabliſhment of public baths at Rome, there were diſtinct ones for the men and women; but they inſenſibly became common, with this difference only, that the men were ſerved by men, and the women by women. The Emperor Adrian perceiving how indecent this was, ordered different baths for each ſex. Dio. Caſſ. l. 60. Marcus Aurelius did the ſame: but Heliogabalus ſuppreſſed thoſe ordinances, which were revived, but with little ſucceſs, by Alexander Severus; ſo that this indecent cuſtom ſubſiſted a conſiderable length of time even among the Chriſtians, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the miniſters of the church, and was not entirely aboliſhed till after the Emperor Conſtantine. At length, the public baths were ſo common, and the uſe of them ſo general, that Pliny obſerves, there were three in the village near his country-houſe. This amazing number of public baths, of which ſome were magnificent ſtructures, ſerved no leſs for the convenience than embelliſhment of that great city. The moſt ſuperb baths however were ſtill far remote from the beauty and extent of thoſe called *Thermæ*, which were alſo public baths, but almoſt all built by the Emperors; in which their principal view ſeems to have been, to diſplay their magnificence, having ſpared nothing that might give an high idea of it. For they were ſpacious and magnificent edifices, adorned with porticos and galleries of extraordinary extent, and ſuperb architecture, which contained not only baths, but every thing elſe that could render them agreeable. We find that there were libraries in them; witneſs the *Thermæ* of Diocleſian, whither the Ulpian library had been carried. There were places in them allotted to the exer-

XX. *Of the* Thermæ.

ciſes of the body, and even to thoſe of the mind, as it was cuſtomary to aſſemble under thoſe porticos, and works of wit were repeated, and youth taught there. It were needleſs to add, that newſmongers aſſembled there, as we have already ſaid that they frequented the other public baths. It is for this reaſon the poets often gave them the epithet of *Garrulæ*. The open places and galleries ſerved for the exerciſes of the body; leaping, wreſtling, throwing the *Diſcus*, foot-ball, and another game with a ball, which came near enough to what we call *Long* or *Welch Tennis*. For the Romans, who in early times had cultivated the exerciſes of the body only as they conduced to render them more warlike, cultivated them in proceſs of time, as conducive to health. Wreſtling ſeemed very proper for rendering the body more ſupple and vigorous, and thereby leſs ſubject to the infirmities which ariſe from too much indolence and inaction. It was with this view that Auguſtus often exerciſed himſelf in playing at foot-ball, and that kind of tennis of which we have ſpoke. Beſides theſe places of exerciſe, there were others planted with trees, where people walked in ſummer. The baths in them were of all kinds, even of ſea-water, to which peculiar virtues were aſcribed. There were ſtoves alſo in the *Thermæ*, as in the other public baths. They were diſtributed into different apartments, conſiſting of halls of extraordinary extent, the extremely lofty rooms of which were ſupported by pillars of the moſt exquiſite marble. The pavement was alſo marble and Moſaic work, with which the walls were covered, and adorned with gilding and paintings of great value. But their principal ornament was the prodigious number

Suet. in vit. Aug.

number of marble ſtatues, figures, and vaſes of the beſt maſters. The Emperors took pleaſure in collecting in theſe places moſt of the excellent pieces of painting and ſculpture, which the Romans had brought to Rome from the principal cities of Greece and Aſia. The ſame magnificence extended to all the reſt of thoſe edifices; for even the place in which were kept the perfumes, odoriferous oils, eſſences, and drugs, with which thoſe who had bathed were rubbed, was no leſs adorned; the vaſes, in which they were preſerved, were either of marble, or ſome curious matter. The veſſels in which people bathed, were of fine marble, oriental granite or porphyry, though of an extraordinary ſize, as may be judged from thoſe which have been found in the ruins of theſe buildings, moſt of which ſerve at this day for the public fountains at Rome. Thus there is no room for thinking, that the authors, who have ſpoke of the magnificence of the *Thermæ*, intended to impoſe. Beſides ſuch large bathing-veſſels, there were great baſons full of water for ſuch as deſired to exerciſe themſelves in ſwimming; ſo that nothing had been forgot, that could contribute either to pleaſure or amuſement. A great number of ſlaves of both ſexes were appointed to take care, that theſe *Thermæ* were kept equally clean and commodious. After this ſhort deſcription, it is eaſy to perceive the difference between the *Thermæ* and other baths: for beſides that the latter had neither the magnificence nor extent of the former, moſt of them had not porticos in them for the exerciſes of the body. The *Thermæ* of Caracalla and Diocleſian were the moſt ſpacious and ſuperb; and were conſidered with reaſon amongſt the principal ornaments of this firſt city of the world.

XXI. *The Tiber the first bath of the Romans.* But before the Romans had quitted their rough and auſtere kind of life, they had no other bath but the Tiber, whither they went to waſh and exerciſe themſelves in ſwimming. In thoſe

XXII. *Simple beds of the first Romans.* times they contented themſelves with lying upon beds of ſtraw or dried leaves, with no other covering but ſkins of beaſts, which ſerved them alſo for mattreſſes. But in proceſs of time, the example of the people they ſubjected, and the opulence they began to enjoy, induced them to ſupply themſelves with all the conveniencies, or rather ſuperfluities, of life. Accordingly they had not only feather and the fineſt down-beds, with mattreſſes of wool, * but they adorned their bedſteds with figures in relief, and inlaid work: they made them alſo of ivory, and even maſſy ſilver, with coverings of fine

XXIII. *Beds.* purple, enriched with gold. The beds repreſented in the antique marbles, are very different from ours: they were made almoſt like our couches or ſettees, with a back and ſides that ran from the head to the feet, being open only

XXIV. *Form of beds.* before. Theſe beds, which had neither teſter nor curtains, were ſo high, that they could not be got upon without ſome ſort of ſteps. They

XXV. *Of ſeats.* had different kinds of ſeats, ſome made like ſtools, and others like folding chairs, and chairs

XXVI. *Of Tapeſtries.* with backs and without arms. For tapeſtries they made uſe of rich ſtuffs, wherein were fi-

* Nemo inter curas, & ſeria duxit habendum,
Qualis in Oceani fluctu teſtudo nataret,
Clarum Trojugenis factura ac nobile fulcrum:
Sed nudo latere, & parvis frons ærea lectis
Vile coronati caput oſtendebat aſelli. *Juv.* Sat. XI. v. 87.

It was not then a Roman's anxious thought,
Where largeſt tortoiſe-ſhells were to be bought,
Where pearls might of the greateſt price be had,
And ſhining jewels to adorn his bed,
That he at vaſt expence might loll his empty head.
Congreve.

gures

gures of animals: but the walls of their apartments were generally covered with marble, wainſcot, or adorned with works in relief, or only ſtatues, which ſerved inſtead of tapeſtry. When ſtatues began to grow into eſteem with them, the ſculptors repreſented them in the *Toga*, and afterwards naked in the manner of the Greeks, or with the cuiraſs in the Roman mode. The ſpoils of the city of Syracuſe, which Marcellus brought to Rome and diſplayed in his triumph, gave birth to the love of painting and ſculpture amongſt the Romans, which they had little regarded before. They afterwards extended their curioſity to many other things, that did not deſerve it. The deſire of having tables of curious wood, or adorned with ſilver, was of this number: the moſt eſteemed and the moſt coveted wood for this kind of works was the lemon of Mauritania. As to their veſſels, they uſed none during a great length of time under the Commonwealth, except of earth or wood; to which they adhered ſo ſtrictly, that in the year 477, the Cenſor C. Fabricius excluded P. Cornelius Rufinus from the Senate, a perſon of Conſular dignity, who had filled the office of Dictator with diſtinction, becauſe he had about ten or twelve pounds of ſilver plate in his houſe. In thoſe times the ſumptuary laws were exactly obſerved: but a great change enſued afterwards, and ſilver plate became as common, as it had before been rare: they even had gold-plate. One of the freedmen of the Emperor Claudius cauſed a ſilver diſh to be made, that weighed five hundred pounds. We may conjecture from hence, to what an height the magnificence of buffets was carried, of which I ſhall ſay ſomething, when I come to ſpeak of the Roman meals.

XXVII. *Taſte for painting and ſculpture.*

XXVIII. *Tables of curious wood.* Plin. l. 33. c. 11.

XXIX. *Of veſſels.* Val. Max. l. 2. c. 9.

Tac. l. 3.

Plin. l. 33. c. 11.

CHAPTER IX.

I. *Diviſion of the night.* II. *Of the lamps uſed during the night.* III. *Diviſion of the day.* IV. *Firſt ſun-dial.* V. *Of the* Clepſydra, *or water-clock.* VI. *Uſual occupations of the day.* VII. *Of patrons and clients.* VIII. *Manner of devoting criminals.* IX. *Reſpect of clients for their patrons.*

I. *Diviſion of the night.*

THE Romans divided the night into four equal parts, each of three hours, which they called *Watches*, reckoning by the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth watch, according to the cuſtom obſerved in the army, where the guard was relieved four times during the night. Part of it they employed either in the pleaſures of the table or in ſtudy. They uſually made uſe of lamps, which were placed in ſconces with ſeveral branches. Rich perſons, refiners in luxury, had branches made of Corinthian braſs, of curious workmanſhip. The uſe of wax was not unknown to them; but they generally burnt lamps, from whence came the Latin proverb, *Tempus & oleum perdidi*, to ſay, *I have loſt my labour.*

II. *Of the lamps uſed during the night.*

III. *Diviſion of the day.*

As to the day, during a very great length of time, they diſtinguiſhed its different parts only by ſun-riſe and ſun-ſet: No other difference is mentioned in the laws of the twelve tables. It was not till ſome time after the inſtitution of thoſe laws, that they divided it into two equal parts, the fore and after-noon. For till the four hundred ſeventy-ſeventh year of Rome, when Papirius Curſor cauſed the firſt ſun-dial that appeared

Plin. l. 7. c. 61.

IV. *Firſt ſun-dial.*

peared there to be affixed to the wall of the temple of Quirinus, they had never uſed any method for meaſuring time. With this help they divided the day into hours, and had only ſun-dials till the year 585, when Scipio Naſica for the firſt time made uſe of the water-clock (*Clepſydra*) amongſt them, which ſhewed the hours day and night, by the means of a glaſs veſſel filled with water, on which ſwam a ſmall piece of cork with a needle in it, that pointed to the hours marked along the veſſel, by ſinking in proportion as the water ran out through an hole made on purpoſe at the bottom of the glaſs. In this manner they arrived at dividing the day into twelve hours, of which the firſt began with ſun-riſe, and the twelfth ended with ſun-ſet; which made the hours unequal in the different ſeaſons, being longer in ſummer, and ſhorter in winter; but at the ſixth half the day was always ſuppoſed to have elapſed. V. *Water-clock.*

After having explained the diviſion made of the day by the Romans, I proceed to their uſual occupations, and their diſtribution of them during it. It began for all affairs with * ſun-riſe: the two firſt hours were taken up by their clients paying their duty to their patrons, and in conciliating the affection of their fellow-citizens, whoſe ſuffrages were neceſſary for the attainment of the dignities of the Commonwealth. They allotted theſe duties to the beginning of the day, in order to employ the reſt of it in the ſervices they might have occaſion mutually to render each other, in quality of patrons and clients. VI. *Uſual occupations of the day.* Mart. l. 4.

* Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus,
Sub galli cantum conſultor ubi oſtia pulſat. *Hor.* Sat. I.
The lawyer vows the farmer's life is beſt
When at the c[illegible] the clients break his reſt. Horneck.

VII. *Of patrons and clients.*

The people's cuſtom of chuſing patrons and protectors out of the Senators and Nobility, is aſcribed to Romulus. The protected called themſelves clients, from the aſſiduity with which they cultivated their patron's favour. Romulus's view in this was to eſtabliſh union between the two orders, by rendering them mutually neceſſary to each other. This inſtitution, if really of Romulus, as it is ſaid, gives us an advantagious idea of his political abilities. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis leſſens the glory of it a little, by affirming that he borrowed the greateſt part of the form of his government from the Greeks. This tie between the two orders became ſtill ſtronger and more uſeful in the times of the Commonwealth, becauſe the Nobility ſtood in need on many occaſions of the ſuffrages of the People.

Dion Hal. l. 2. c. 4.

The patrons were obliged to aſſiſt their clients with their counſels and credit, and to defend them in their abſence, as well as preſent; to take their cauſe upon themſelves, if any injuſtice were done them, or they were cited before the judges; and to do all for them that a father does for his children, as well on account of what regarded money, as in pecuniary contracts. The patrons inherited the eſtates of their clients, who died inteſtate, and without heirs. The clients on their ſide undertook no affair without conſulting them; it was their duty to give their voices in the public aſſemblies in their favour, or for thoſe for whom their patrons made intereſt. They were alſo obliged to aſſiſt them in marrying their daughters; to furniſh them with fortunes, if the fathers had not ſufficient eſtates; and to pay their ranſom, and that of their ſons, when they were taken priſoners by the enemy.

But

But they were discharged from the last obligation, when the Commonwealth had prohibited the ransoming of prisoners of war. They were also obliged to advance the money, if their patron lost a law-suit, and even the fines laid on them by the public, and that without use or interest. Their purse was also to be open to their patrons, to support their dignity and the expences the public good required them to be at, as if they had been their own relations. Both patrons and clients were equally prohibited to accuse each other of crimes; to give evidence, or vote against each other; and to espouse the party of one another's enemies. If a person were convicted of having done any of these three things, he was obnoxious to the law passed by Romulus against traitors, and after correction it was lawful for any citizen to kill him, as a victim devoted to Pluto God of hell. For it was the custom of the Romans to devote those, whom it was lawful to kill with impunity, to some God, and principally the infernal divinities. VIII. *Manner of devoting criminals.*

The clients paid their patrons so much respect, that they went in the morning to their doors to wait their rising, as well as the freedmen, with this difference however, that the latter paid that duty to their masters twice a day, morning and evening, and the others only in the morning. But both the clients and freedmen accompanied their patron's litter through the streets on foot, who thought it for their honour to have a numerous train. It was with that view patrons in process of time gave those, who attended them, * the *Sportula:* this was a retribution in money IX. *Respect of clients.* Suet. in vit. Galb.

* Nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo?
Juv. Sat. III. v. 249.
See with what smoke our doles we celebrate. Dryden.

or victuals. After the Plebeians had at length obtained the power of poſſeſſing the dignities of the Commonwealth, they alſo became patrons, and had clients, through the credit and authority, which the offices they had filled, acquired them. But under the Emperors, the People having no longer any ſhare either in the elections of the magiſtrates, affairs of ſtate, or judgments, in which only the Magiſtrates and the Emperor then preſided, nothing remained of patrons and clients, except the names, mutually void of the obligations before annexed to them. The name of client was given ſolely to thoſe, who accompanied the rich and powerful in the city, to ſwell their train, to whom on that account was given what was called *Sportula*, which, as we have ſaid, was either a ſmall piece of money, or a portion of proviſions, diſtributed to them at the doors of the perſons they had attended; and the latter retained the name of patron, upon account of that ſalary. In this manner the pride of the rich enabled part of the poor citizens to ſubſiſt. The right of patronage however, if we may believe Tacitus, ſubſiſted ſtill in reſpect to freedmen. That hiſtorian ſays in the life of Vitellius, that this right of patronage, which he had reſtored with the applauſe of the Senate and People, became ineffectual, through the deceit of the freedmen, who either ſecreted their fortunes, or put them under the protection of the great.

Tac. Hiſt. l. 2.

CHAP-

CHAPTER X.

I. *Of the third hour.* II. *Of dinner.* III. *Affairs tranſacted in the Forum.* IV. *Magnificence of buffets.* V. *Of the beds uſed at tables.*

THE two firſt hours being employed as above, the third was uſually allotted to the Bar, or particular affairs, till the fifth, which was that of dinner. This was a very ſlight repaſt, and in a manner a ſimple refreſhment, till the principal meal, which was the ſupper: and in conſequence they never invited any body to dinner. From thence to the ſeventh hour was a time of repoſe, which is ſtill a cuſtom in Italy, that they call *paſſing the noon.* The eighth hour was employed in exerciſes of the body; after which they bathed; and about the ninth went to ſupper. However, in the early times of the Commonwealth, when they applied themſelves more to their domeſtic affairs, than pleaſures, they did not ſup till ſunſet. By this diſtribution of time we may ſee the difference between their manner of paſſing their time, and ours. Their affairs, whether public or private, being tranſacted in the Forum, kept them a part of the day from home. The public ſhews of the Circus, Amphitheatre, and Theatre, which became ſo common under the Emperors, that they were exhibited almoſt every day, might alſo employ the reſt; ſo that ſupper-time and night were all that remained for their private diverſions, and for entertaining their friends and relations at home: for they ſeldom were without ſome of them at this meal.

I. *Of the third hour.*

II. *Of dinner.* Suet. in vit. Aug. Herodian. l. 2. Suet. in vit. Domit.

III. *Affairs tranſacted in the Forum.*

The

The rooms where they ate were places adorned and solely allotted to that use. It was there, according to the fortune of the master of the house, that more or less magnificence was displayed in superb buffets laden with vessels, still more valuable for their exquisite workmanship, than for the gold, silver, or other exquisite materials of which they were composed. Most of them were the fruits of their victories, and the spoils of the provinces they had conquered, and served rather to make a magnificent shew, than for any necessary use.

IV. *Magnificence of buffets.*

Isid. l. 20. c. 2.

To go back to the early times, when simplicity and modesty prevailed, we find that the Romans ate sitting upon benches or seats round the table: but after their commerce with the Greeks and Asiatics, whom they piqued themselves upon imitating, they introduced, instead of chairs or stools, the use of beds round the table. They were usually of a round form: one side was always left open to receive the service in the middle; and the beds were placed, one at the head, and two on each side, there being only three at each table. On each of the greatest there was room only for four persons; for they did not approve having more than twelve at the same table. The common beds were only for * three; and the number that pleased them most was † nine, seven, or three, having a singular prejudice for an odd number.

V. *Of the beds used at table.*

Plut. in vit. Pomp. Suet. in vit. Aug. Mart. l. 11. Ep. 53.

The

* Tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcitra lecto,
Unà simus, ait. *Juv.* Sat. V.
That the third bolster may not want a guest,
Sup with me, says his Lordship.

† Summus ego, & prope me Viscus Thurinus, & infra
Si memini Varius: cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius; quos Mæcenas adduxerat *Umbras*.
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra.
Hor. L. II. Sat. viii.

Sir,

The maſter of the houſe placed himſelf upon the bed at the end of the table, from whence he could ſee the whole diſpoſition of the ſervice, and give his domeſtics orders with moſt eaſe. The place above him he reſerved for one of the gueſts, and that below him for his wife: for the Roman ladies were preſent at entertainments with the men, which was not the cuſtom amongſt the Greeks. But the moſt diſtinguiſhed place was the laſt upon the middle bed. It was called for that reaſon the Conſular place, becauſe it was really That given the Conſuls, when they went to eat at the houſes of their friends. They lay upon theſe beds with their left elbow on a pillow, or kind of bolſter. At the beginning of this cuſtom, the women thought it indecent for them to lie down at table, and uſed to ſit upon the beds: but that ſcruple was ſoon removed, and they took their places at them in the ſame manner as the men. * Horace in one of his Satires informs us, that a canopy was placed over the table. Though the example of the Aſiatics had not a little contributed to introduce that manner of lying at table amongſt the Romans, it was however alſo aſcribed to the cuſtom of bathing immediately before eating; becauſe on quitting the bath, the body having occaſion for repoſe, they threw themſelves upon beds, which they found too commodious to quit, when it was neceſſary to

Plut. de Conv. l. 1. Qu. 3.

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1.

Lamprid. in vit. Heliogab.

Sir, I ſat firſt; and ſtay, I think 'twas ſo,
Turinus next, Vibidius ſat below,
Next Balatro; below him Porcius lies

All uninvited; but, as Lords are wont,
Mæcenas brought them all on his account. Creech.

* Interea ſuſpenſa graves aulæa ruinas
In patinam fecere—— *Hor.* L. II. Sat. VIII.
But whilſt he talk'd, and whilſt he prais'd the fiſh,
Down came the canopy into the diſh.

eat.

eat. For the guests bathed at the person's house who invited to supper; and it was for this reason, that it was always observed in building houses, to place the apartment of the baths near that where they ate. These beds for the table were covered with purple, and other rich stuffs. They were low and without backs, differing in those respects from the beds where they passed the night, and not much unlike couches or settees. Some were in the form of an half-moon, and others a little raised at the end next the table, for the more commodiously supporting those on them whilst they were eating. Of all the different forms of them, the last was the most modern. On quitting the bath, the guests put on the robe worn at feasts or suppers, called in Latin *Synthesis*. This robe, of which the form is not known to us, was shorter than the rest. It must be confessed, that we are still ignorant of abundance of these customs, notwithstanding all the lights, which the moderns have endeavoured to extract from the authors of those times, and some relievos which have conveyed the representation of them down to us. In one, among the rest, we see a woman at table lying upon one of these beds, and a man close to her, whose shoes are taking off, and who seems preparing to take his place also upon it: for cleanliness required that the shoes should be taken off on this occasion. The woman seems to recline a little on one side, supported by her left elbow, with no other habit, except a tunic without sleeves, and a drapery that surrounds her from above the girdle to the feet: this perhaps is the *Synthesis* of which we have spoke. She has a kind of purse with her hair in it, that comes close about her head.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XI.

I. *Bills of fare given the gueſts.* II. *Of the King of the feaſt.* III. *Of the crowns of flowers and ivy.* IV. *Of the healths drank.* V. *Number of courſes.* VI. *Mulled wines.* VII. *No table-cloths.* VIII. *Table-cloths firſt uſed.* IX. *Of the diverſions with which feaſts were attended.* X. *Hour of ſupper.* XI. *Of the breakfaſt.* XII. *Of the dinner.* XIII. *Games of chance.* XIV. *Lotteries.*

THE firſt thing done was to give the gueſts an exact and circumſtantial liſt of the courſes, and all the diſhes of which the feaſt was compoſed. Before they began to eat, they threw dice in order by way of diverſion to decide who ſhould be * King of the feaſt. He was obeyed during the whole entertainment, and regulated the number of healths that were drank. The gueſts were preſented † with wreaths of flowers and

I. *Bills of fare given to the gueſts.*

II. *Of the King of the feaſt.* Plut. de Conv. l. 1. c. 4.

* Jam te premet nox, fabulæque manes,
Et domus exilis Plutonia: quo ſimul mearis
Nec regna vini ſortiere talis. *Hor.* L. I. Od. iv.
——*The grim conqueror death*
Advances ſwift to ſtop thy breath;
And once depriv'd of light,
We're wrapt in miſts of endleſs night:
Then no more ſhall mirth and wine
Our loves and wit refine.
——————Quem Venus arbitrum
Dicet bibendi? *Id.* L. II. Od. vii.
Let's try whom the caſt Venus ſhall aſſign
The monarch of the glaſs, the King of wine.

† Diſplicent nexæ philyra coronæ. *Id.* L. I. Od. xxxviii.
Crowns wrought with too much art diſpleaſe.
——Eſt in horto,
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis:
Eſt hederæ vis

Multa,

and ivy, to which was ascribed the property of preventing the effects of the fumes of wine by their coolness: after having rubbed their hair with odoriferous * essences, they put those crowns upon their heads, and wore them during the whole entertainment. Some time before it ended, which was when the healths began to go round briskly, the master of the house caused a great cup, richer and more adorned than the rest, to be brought, which was therefore called † *Cuppa magistra*, the principal cup, out of which the company drank round the healths of those they loved. If it was a mistress, they often by way of gallantry obliged the lover to drink as many times as there were letters in her name.

III. *Of the crowns of flowers and ivy.*

IV. *Of the healths drunk.*

V. *Number of courses.* Their supper usually consisted of three courses: but sometimes out of an excess of magnifi-

Multa, quâ crines religata fulges.
Id. L. IV. Od. xi.

———*To crown thy hair*
My parsley grows; my ivy twines
To grace thy head, and make thee fair. Creech.

* Cur non sub alta vel platano, vel hac
Pinu jacentes sic temerè, et rosa
Canos odorati capillos,
Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
Potamus uncti?——— *Hor.* L. II. Od. xi.
Why underneath a pleasing myrtle shade,
On flow'ry banks supinely laid,
Are we so slow to spend a day;
And, whilst grey hairs are crown'd with rose,
Or od'rous oil our heads o'erflows,
To quaff our cares away? Creech.
———————Quis udo
Deproperare apio coronas
Curatve myrto? *Id.* L. II. Od. vii.
Who parsley twines, or myrtle boughs,
To grace our mirth, and shade our brows? Creech.

† Post hoc ludus erat cuppa potare magistra.
Id. L. II. Sat. ii.
The next sport was, before the feast broke up,
To drink the master-bowl, the peremptory cup.

cence

cence and desire to entertain, they were augmented ‖ to seven. The first was of sallads of lettices and olives; with which oysters of the lake Lucrinus, so famous for that shell-fish, and other the like things to excite the appetite, were served up. The second was composed of roast-meats, and the most substantial dishes, amongst which dishes of fish were always intermixed, of which they were such great lovers, that without them they would not have thought themselves well entertained. And for the third service, it was composed of fruits and pastry. There were domestics, whose peculiar office it was to preside at the disposition of the dishes, and served as *Maitres d' hotel* in France; some to take care of the distribution of the wines; and others, to cut * the victuals, in quality of carvers. There were even servants who during the summer did nothing but drive away the flies with great fans made of feathers, which had an handle, as some antique relievos represent. The void left at one end of the table made it easy for the domestics to serve in this manner. They loved mulled wines. Horace speaks of that of † Falernus, mingled with honey to render it the more agreeable. There were not cloths on the tables; but[c. 3.]

VI. *Mulled wines.*

Plin. l. 13.

VII. *No table-cloths.*

‖ ——————Quis fercula septem
Secreto cœnavit avus? *Juv.* Sat. I.
Or which of our fore-fathers fared so well,
As on seven dishes at a private meal? Dryden.

* Saltantem spectes, & chironomonta volanti
Cultello.——— *Juv.* Sat V.
The carver dancing round each dish surveys
With flying knife. Dryden.

† ——Nisi Hymettia mella Falerno
Ne biberis diluta.—— *Hor.* L. 2. Sat. ii.
———*Nor drink Falernian wine*
Unless Hymettus' honey with it join.

they were ‖ cleaned before every course with a wet sponge, at which time the guests also washed their hands. They had also a manner of substituting to the first service, another table entirely covered; and so on with all the rest to the end of the entertainment. It was not till under the last Emperors that the Romans began to use table-cloths, which were at first striped with purple and even gold. When they went to eat at the houses of others, they caused a napkin to be brought, which, when they returned, served for their domestics to carry home some pieces of the supper. They might even send some of it to their wife or a friend, without its being thought extraordinary. A guest had also the liberty of bringing a friend with him; and that supernumerary was called a * *Shadow*, in allusion to the shadow that follows the body; as those who came of themselves without being invited or brought by some of the guests were called *Flies*; alluding in like manner to those troublesome insects. Good cheer was not the only pleasure of the entertainment; music had often a share in it. Women-singers, and performers upon instruments, were admitted, or else the guests themselves supplied their place. Dancers, mimes, and pantomimes,

VIII. *Table-cloths first used.* Lampr. in vit. Alex. Sever. Mart. l. 12. Ep. 29. Catull. Ep. 2.

IX. *Diversions with which feasts were attended.* Plut. in vit. Lucull.

‖ His ubi sublatis, puer altè cinctus acernam
Gausape purpureo mensam perterst, & alter
Sublegit quodcunque jaceret inutile.
Id. L. II. Sat. viii.
This dish remov'd, two ready servants come,
One clean'd the table, t'other swept the room,
And gather'd up the relicts of the feast,
The bones, and all that might offend the guest. Creech.

* Si memini, Varius, cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius; quos Mecænas adduxerat *umbras*.
Hor. L. II. Sat. viii.

See note, p. 74, 75.

who

who repreſented ſcenes in dumb-ſhew, were alſo called in, and another ſort of people, a kind of jeſters, whoſe profeſſion it was to tell pleaſant ſtories to make the company laugh. Even † works of wit were read there: in a word, they endeavoured to groupe whatever could amuſe and divert. As they ſupped at the ninth hour, that is to ſay three hours before ſun-ſet; (for we muſt not forget, that their hours were different from ours, being much ſhorter in winter and much longer in ſummer,) that was beginning in ſufficiently good time, for uniting all theſe diverſions with the only meal they had in the day. For in the morning they ate only a little bread to break their faſt; and their dinner, which they did not take till the fifth hour, was hardly more conſiderable, conſiſting only of ſome fruits, according to the ſeaſon. And as to eating between meals, none did that except artiſans and workmen, who, according to the antient cuſtom, ſupped at ſun-ſet; ſo that only the ſupper deſerved to be conſidered as a meal. That was the only time they could paſs in domeſtic pleaſures; becauſe, as we have ſaid before, their affairs, public and private, the Shews and exerciſes of the body, employed them from home, till the time they went to ſupper. Theſe two laſt occupations, which were of the number of pleaſures, ſerved them inſtead of our private amuſements: for gaming was not ſo common amongſt them, as amongſt us. There were

X. *Hour of ſupper.* Mart. l. 4. Ep. 8.

XI. *Of the breakfaſt.* Iſid l. 20. c. 2.

XII. *Of the dinner.* Suet. in vit. Aug. Iſid. l. 20. c. 20. Plut. Quæſt. Conv. l. 8. Qu. 6.

XIII. *Of games of chance.*

† ——Ecce inter pocula quærunt
Romulidæ ſaturi, quid dia poemata narrant.
Perſ. Sat. I.
Who by their fathers is at feaſts renown'd,
And often quota when the bowls go round. Dryden.

even * laws, that prohibited games of chance, which prohibitions were sufficiently well observed, as long as the Commonwealth subsisted. But the games of chance being the taste of several Emperors, they got the better of the laws, and became so common, that † Juvenal declaims strongly in his Satires against those who ruined themselves by them. The games of chance of the Romans, of which the knowledge has come down to us, were played with a kind of dice. That called ‖ *Talus*, was played at with throwing four of

Suet. in vit. Aug. & Claud.

* ——Nescit equo rudis
Hærere ingenuus puer,
Venarique timet, ludere doctior
Seu Græco jubeas trocho,
Seu malis vetitâ legibus aleâ.
Hor. L. III. Od. xxiv.

Now to the noble youth 'tis too much pain
The steed's impetuous fire to rein;
To risque the manly dangers of the chace:
But softer arts of these take place;
To play at billiards with Sir Courtly Nice,
And curse the barb'rous laws, that would abolish dice.

† ——Alea quando
Hos animos? neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
Ad casum tabulæ, posita sed luditur arca.
Prælia quanta illic dispensatore videbis
Armigero! simplexne furor sestertia centum
Perdere; & horrenti tunicam non reddere servo?
Juv. Sat. I.

When were the dice with more profusion thrown?
The well fill'd fob's not emptied now alone,
But gamesters for whole patrimonies play;
The steward brings the deeds which must convey
The lost estate: What more than madness reigns,
When one short sitting many hundreds drains,
And not enough is left him to supply
Board-wages, or a footman's livery? Dryden.

‖ ——Postquam illi justa chiragra
Contudit articulos; qui pro se tolleret, atque
Mitteret in phimum *Talos*, mercede diurna
Conductum pavit.—— *Hor.* L. II. Sat. vii.

Struck by the gout, just offspring of the pox,
Who keeps a wretch, to put his dice ith' box.

those

thoſe dice † at once; and when three ſixes came up, the caſt was called *Venus*, which ſwept all the money ſtaked: *Teſſera*, another, was played only with three dice ‖ upon a table marked like a chequer: and that of even and odd, was much uſed amongſt them. They had alſo another game, which they called *Latrunculi*, that did not depend upon chance, but upon the ſkill of the gameſters. They did not uſe dice in it, but certain figures which they diſpoſed upon a chequer, as is done at cheſs, to which it came very near. Theſe were their domeſtic games: but often, when the Emperors gave entertainments, before they began, by way of amuſement, they cauſed a lottery to be drawn, of which all the tickets that were diſtributed *gratis* amongſt the gueſts, gained ſome jewel, or other prize. The Emperor Heliogabalus had one, that he compoſed out of pleaſantry, of which half the tickets were beneficial, and the other half gained only ridiculous things of no value. There was, for inſtance, in one ticket ſix ſlaves, in another ſix flies; in one a vaſe of value, and in another an earthen pot; and ſo on of the reſt.

XIV. *Of lotteries.*

Theſe lotteries were an ingenious and gallant contrivance for diſplaying their liberality, and rendering the feaſt more lively and affecting, in putting the gueſts into a good humour beforehand.

† ——————Effigies quo
Tot bellatorum, ſi luditur *alea* pernox
Ante Numantinos? *Juv.* Sat. VIII.
'Tis meer burleſque, that to our gen'rals praiſe
Their progeny immortal ſtatues raiſe,
Yet (far from that old gallantry) delight
To game before their images all night. Stepney.

‖ ——Hunc alea decoquit.—— *Perſ.* Sat. V.

CHAPTER XII.

I. *Of the meats of the Romans.* II. *Of the diet of the first Romans.* III. *Wine prohibited to women.* IV. *Of vintages.* V. *Old wine esteemed.* VI. *Laws for retrenching the luxury of the table.* VII. *Supper given Cicero and Pompey by Lucullus.* VIII. *Lucullus compared to Curius Dentatus.*

I. *Of the meats of the Romans.*

BUT to return to the meals of the Romans, the meat which they most frequently used, was pork; as for extraordinaries, they gave venison and wild and tame fowl: but * peacocks, cranes of Malta, and † nightingales, were considered as delicious meats. It is related, that one Cn. Aufidius Lucro, having discovered a method of fattening peacocks, got every year sixty thousand sesterces by the sale of them. Lucullus, famous for the expence of his table, caused thrushes to be fattened, and had them all the year round.

Plin. l. 8. c. 51. Id. l. 10. c. 20 & 22.

It appears, as may be collected from authors of those times, that the profusion of provisions

* Vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone velis quin
Hoc potiùs quam gallinâ tergere palatum,
Corruptus vanis rerum: quia veneat auro
Rara avis, & pictâ pandat spectacula caudâ.
Hor. L. II. Sat. ii.

Yet can I scarce prevail to make you take
The barn-door fowl, and peacock's flesh forsake:
'Tis scarce, 'tis dear, *attract and please you so,*
And the gay spreading train, a raree-show.

† Quinti progenies Arrî, par nobile fratrum,
Nequitia, & nugis, pravorum & amore, gemellum,
Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coemptas,
Quorsum abeant sani? creta an carbone notandi?
Hor. L. II. Sat. iii.

The sons of Arrus, those of high renown,
Those famous bully-brothers of the town,
The most agreeing pair in ev'ry vice,
Still fed on nightingales of costly price:
And were they mad or sober, fools or wise? Creech.

was

was the reigning taſte; and that they made the merit of an entertainment conſiſt as much in that, as in rare and exquiſite diſhes, of which the delicacy alone would not have ſatisfied, if abundance had not been united with it. For whole wild-boars were ſerved up, in which ſometimes other things, whole alſo, were put: thoſe other things were ſo diſpoſed in them, that the laſt were always the leaſt, to the bigneſs of a nightingale. A wild-boar prepared in this manner, was called a Trojan wild-boar, in alluſion to the horſe full of troops, by which the city of Troy was taken. Pyramids of fowl and game of all kinds were alſo ſerved: whence we ought to be the leſs ſurprized at that prodigious diſh of Claudius's freed-man, which for its immenſe magnitude might have ſerved for a table. Spartian. in vit. Eli.

But if we go back to the early times, we ſhall find that the Romans lived almoſt ſolely upon milk, herbs, and roots, which they cultivated and dreſſed with their own hands; and that their nouriſhment, during a conſiderable length of time, conſiſted only of a kind of groſs * pap, compoſed of meal and boiling water, which ſerved them inſtead of bread; that when they began to uſe bread, they had none for a great while but of unmixed rye; and that very long under the Commonwealth, wine was ſo ſcarce about Rome, that in the ſacrifices, the libations to the Gods were made only with milk. Wine did not become common there till about the ſix

II. *Of the diet of the firſt Romans.* Val. Max. l. 2. c. 5.

* Ponebant igitur Tuſco *farrata* catino
Omnia tunc. *Juv.* Sat. XI.
But earthen platters held the homely meſs. Congreve.
——————Altera cœna
Amplior, & grandes fumabant *pultibus* ollæ.
Juv. Sat. XIV.
Gigantic hinds, as ſoon as work was done,
To their huge pots of boiling pulſe would run.
Mr. J. Dryden, *junr.*

hundredth year from its foundation, when vines were planted. It was in these times of simplicity, that women were prohibited to drink it; and for that reason their near relations were permitted to salute them, when they came to their houses, in order to smell whether they had drank any; which if discovered gave their husbands a right to punish them. According to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Romulus was both the author of the law which permitted an husband to kill his wife, if he found her in adultery, and to punish wives that drank wine with death. Valerius Maximus relates, that one Egnatius Metellus having killed his wife, whom he found drinking wine out of the cask, Romulus acquitted him of the murder. Fabius Pictor says also, that a Roman lady having picked the lock of a chest in which were the keys of the place where the wine was kept, her parents starved her to death: men were also forbade to drink it till the age of thirty. Tertullian, in his Apologetic, mentions the laws by which these prohibitions were made; and says, they ordained, that not above an hundred pence should be expended upon an entertainment, and that only one fowl should be served up in it, and that not fattened. But towards the declension of the Commonwealth, and under the first Emperors, the women were not only accustomed to drink wine, but carried the excess of it as far as the men.

III. *Wine prohibited to women.* Plin. l. 14. c. 12 & 13. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 1.

IV. *Of the vintage.* The vintage was considered as a time of diversion, in which those employed in it, had the liberty of jeering all passengers, who had no right to complain. The vines were planted at the feet of trees, and made to creep up them, in order to form bowers, as is still practised in Italy. The wine was preserved in great earthen vessels, Herod. l. 8.

veſſels, well ſtopped with pitch; though they were not ignorant of the method of making caſks; for they uſed them for carrying it from place to place, as well as tanned ſkins of beaſts, and green goat-ſkins. The older * the wine was, the more it was in eſteem: to know its age, they marked the year upon the veſſel. They preſerved it an hundred years and upwards: for which purpoſe they put it in an upper room, and not in vaults as we do, which appears no leſs extraordinary than their † cuſtom of warming water to drink in ſummer as well as winter. V. *Old wine eſteemed.*

They carried the luxury and debauch of the table ſo far, that there was a neceſſity for making new laws to retrench them: but they were little obſerved. Tacitus remarks, that the extraordinary luxury of the table prevailed about an hundred years, having began about the time of the battle of Actium, and continued till the reign of the Emperor Galba. However, we may judge to what an exceſs it had attained, even before the battle of Pharſalia, which was VI. *Laws for retrenching the luxury of the table.* Tacit. l. 3.

* O nata mecum Conſule Manlio,
Seu tu querelas, ſive geris jocos,
Seu rixam, & inſanos amores,
Seu facilem, pia teſta, ſomnum:
Quocumque lectum nomine Maſſicum
Servas, moveri, &c. *Hor.* L. III. Od. xxi.
You, my good caſk, are of a date
With Conſul Manlius, and me;
Produce your charge whate'er it be,
Or love, or ſtrife, or loud debate,
Or gentle ſleep, or wit ſerenely free.
On ſuch a day, for ſuch a friend,
With Maſſic juice our ſouls refine. Creech.

† ——Quis aquam temperet ignibus,
Quo præbente domum——
——taces. *Id.* L. III. Od. xix.
Who warms the water for our wine,
Or where we ſup, your houſe or mine.

prior to the other by twenty years, from what Plutarch relates in the life of Lucullus, whose table was supposed to be the best, and most splendidly served. Cicero and Pompey concerted between them to have the pleasure of taking him unprovided; and being alone with Lucullus, told him, they would sup with him, upon condition that he would not speak to his servants, to order any thing extraordinary. He agreed, and only said before them, that he would sup in the room Apollo. The magnificence of the services surprized Cicero and Pompey the more, as, not having left him, he had not had opportunity to give particular orders. But after Lucullus had for some time enjoyed the pleasure of their surprize, he confessed to them, that assoon as his servants knew in what room he was to eat, they were thereby instructed as to the order, quantity, and quality, of the courses, and the expence of the supper; that being regulated for every apartment. The expence of the Apollo was fixed at fifty thousand drachmas of silver, which according to the present value of that metal, amounted to above twelve hundred and fifty pounds. This instance suffices to shew, to what an height the luxury of Rome and the riches of her citizens rose. It was the same Lucullus who caused those fine gardens to be made at Rome, which afterwards were the Emperors; and who, to preserve sea-fish, and to have them when he would at his table, caused canals to be made, for bringing the salt water into reservoirs at his country-house near Naples. It is said also, that it was he who caused a way in the form of a grotto to be cut through the rocky mountain of Pausilypum, which is said to be the same through which people actually pass at this day in the way from Naples to Puzzuolo. He was

VII. *Supper given Cicero and Pompey by Lucullus.*

no

no leſs ſumptuous in dreſs: for a Roman Prætor, who was to give games to the public, deſiring him to lend him an hundred purple robes for the actors, Lucullus anſwered, that he could lend him two hundred, if he wanted them. This was having a very well furniſhed wardrobe; and we may conjecture that the ſtore-room, where the moveables were kept, was no leſs ſo. But to go back only two hundred years, and compare Lucullus with M' Curius Dentatus, who was Conſul in the year 462 from the foundation of Rome, we ſhall have a very ſingular contraſt.

VIII. *Lucullus compared with M' Curius Dentatus.*

When the ambaſſadors of the Samnites came to treat with that Conſul, they found him at table ſitting on a bench, and eating herbs out of an earthen diſh. That extreme indigence of the chief magiſtrate of the Commonwealth, having ſtruck the ambaſſadors at firſt, they believed they might take the advantage it ſeemed to give them, for endeavouring to engage him in their intereſts; and took occaſion to offer him in the name of their nation a conſiderable ſum of money: but he refuſed it with a ſmile of contempt, and told them, that he choſe rather to command the rich, than to be ſo himſelf; and that they ſhould remember, he was neither to be overcome in arms, nor corrupted with preſents. This ſtroke is certainly admirable, if too much pride were not diſcernible in his anſwer: but that ought not to be deemed a perſonal vice, which was common to his whole nation. This contraſt agrees the better, as both theſe Romans were of Conſular dignity, had both had the honour of triumph, and as nothing can better image the different manner of living at theſe different periods. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3.

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CHAPTER XIII.

I. *Of physicians.* II. *Institution of hot baths.* III. *Of bakers.* IV. *Of arts and sciences,* V. *Of architecture.* VI. *Of sculpture.* VII. *Of painting.*

Plin. l. 26. c. 1. THE luxury of the table, and the excesses with which it was attended, introduced diseases the Romans had not known before.

I. *Of physicians.* The art of physic, for which they had hitherto expressed so much repugnance, seemed necessary to them; for they had been very long without being willing to admit it amongst them, having only tolerated it in the time of the plague. They considered it as superfluous, and even prejudicial. Though in the 535th year from the foundation of Rome, some physicians had come from Greece to Rome, they had however no fixed establishment till the year six hundred. Physic at that time included Pharmacy and Surgery. The physicians not only composed medicines, but performed all chirurgical operations themselves, though they had then but a very imperfect knowledge of anatomy, which did not begin to be cultivated till about two ages ago. As long as the Romans led an hard and laborious life, they had dispensed with the want of physicians, without having been the worse in consequence.

Plin. l. 29. c. 1.

II. *Institution of hot baths.* They had not thought in the same manner in respect to hot baths, as in the 454th year from the foundation of Rome, they began to use them. Some years before they had caused barbers to come from Sicily. Pliny tells us, that till then, it had not been the custom amongst them to cut their hair, or to shave.

Plin. l. 7. c. 60.

We

We may judge, from this little care of their persons, the hard and groſs life which they led. Their ſimple manners, the inſtitutions of their founder, and of the Commonwealth, which prohibited the exerciſe of any other profeſſions but thoſe of arms and agriculture, had given them a contempt for all other arts; ſo that they left commerce and trades to ſtrangers and ſlaves. Hence it was only in proportion as luxury and effeminacy gained ground, that arts and trades began to introduce themſelves at Rome. For as long as the Romans confined themſelves to the ſimple neceſſaries of life, they either prepared them with their own hands, or employed their ſlaves in doing ſo; ſo that no public baker was III.
ſeen in Rome till the year 580; every body *Of bakers.*
making their own bread and even meal at home. Plin. l. 18. c. 11.
For the Romans had no mills, but bruiſed their St. Aug.
corn in mortars with a peſtle by ſtrength of arms de Civit.
to extract the flower. They were ſo much ac- Dei, l. 6.
cuſtomed to do every thing themſelves, that c. 9.
long after the introduction of luxury, the ladies continued to employ themſelves in ſpinning wool; and we find that the Emperor Auguſtus Suet. in
ſcarce wore any habits which were not made vit. Aug.
either by his wife, daughter, or nieces. To put a ſtop to the progreſs of the corruption of manners, it was thought proper in 636. to baniſh from Rome by a decree of the Cenſors, all the arts which miniſtered only to pleaſure, except the players upon the flute, becauſe they were employed in the ceremonies of religion. Julius Cæſar made alſo ſome regulations for retrenching luxury. He prohibited litters, purple robes, and jewels; permitting only perſons of a certain age and quality to wear them, and thoſe only ſome days of the year. But the

modera-

moderation of Auguſtus was of more efficacy againſt luxury, than all theſe ordinances. Under his ſucceſſor, they were but a weak fence againſt a torrent, which every day became more impetuous. The corruption of manners, luxury, and effeminacy continually augmented, till they at length occaſioned the ruin of the empire.

IV. *Of arts and ſciences.*

Every body knows, that the time when the arts and ſciences were in their higheſt luſtre at Rome, was that of Auguſtus: the delicate taſte and ſuperior genius of that Prince did not a little contribute to their improvement. The latter did not ſupport themſelves there ſo long as the former, of which the decline did not appear ſenſible, till after the Emperor Septimius Severus, when the arts degenerated.

V. *Of architecture.*

Thoſe in which the Romans ſucceeded beſt after the Greeks, were architecture and ſculpture. However, it is obvious from the works in relief come down to us, that they were no great maſters of the rules of perſpective; for we find houſes, towers, and other edifices in them, of which the diſtances are ſo ill obſerved, that the human figures near them, are larger than the buildings themſelves; though in other reſpects the workmanſhip is highly finiſhed. To prove this we have only to ſee the deſigns that have been taken of the columns of Trajan and Antonine.

VI. *Of ſculpture.*

As to their ſtatues, and particularly thoſe that are naked, far from appearing to want art, it is obſerved, beſides the elegance of the contours, and the juſt proportions, that they have an exactneſs of anatomy, which ſeems the more admirable, as the Romans had but a very imperfect knowledge of that ſcience. But it is to be believed, that

that the frequent Shews, wherein the wreſtlers and gladiators combated naked, making them familiarly acquainted with all the different exterior motions of the muſcles, nerves, and organs, ſerved them inſtead of a ſchool of anatomy. Beſides which, the number of ſtatues was ſo prodigious at Rome, either on account of the multitude of divinities adored there, or of the great men, to whom they were erected out of gratitude for their ſervices, that this part of ſculpture muſt have been much more cultivated, than any other art. Hence it is not ſurprizing, that they attained to that height of correctneſs and elegance, which we obſerve in the ſtatues come down to us.

VII. *Of painting.*

As to paintings, it is not ſaid that they carried them to ſo high a perfection as the Greeks. We muſt refer ourſelves on this ſubject to the authors who ſpeak of it; works of this kind not being a ſufficient proof againſt the injuries of time like thoſe of architecture and ſculpture, we cannot judge of them ourſelves, as of the others, of which many ſtill ſubſiſt; unleſs we are ſatisfied to form a general judgment upon a ſingle piece, or one at leaſt conſidered as * ſuch, becauſe the moſt entire of all that have been diſcovered to the preſent time. It is a ſmall piece of a wall, found near Rome amongſt the ruins of antiquity, upon which the cere-

* *There is another piece of the ſame kind of painting in* freſco *in the Muſæum of Dr. Mead. It repreſents Auguſtus in a pavilion giving a diadem to ſome Prince, whoſe figure is effaced, with Mæcenas, Agrippa, and other courtiers attending. It was found about three years ago in the ruins of the palace of Auguſtus Cæſar upon mount Palatine. There is a fine print of it, done by* Baron, *inſerted in the article of painting in the Hiſtory of the Arts and Sciences of the Antients, tranſlated from the French of M.* Rollin.

mony of a marriage is painted in *fresco*. It is commonly called the Aldobrandine marriage, because it is preserved in the Aldobrandine palace. It is set in a wall, and covered with a case, in which it is locked up. This fragment is entire enough in respect to what it contains: the colours are not very much faded, though so many ages have elapsed since it was painted, and it is only in water-colours; the secret of painting in oil not having been discovered till about three centuries ago. It is observed from it, that they were ignorant of the art of distributing lights, and of using shades to advantage: which gives reason to conjecture, that painting had not attained to the degree of perfection, wherein it is at present.

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CHAPTER XIV.

I. *Diviſion of the year.* II. *The Julian year.* III. *Year of the foundation of Rome.* IV. *Manner of dating by Conſulſhips.* V. *Of new-year's gifts.* VI. *Diviſion of the months.*

AFTER having ſeen the diviſion made by the Romans of the day, it is not improper to know that of the year and months.

I. *Diviſion of the year.*

Romulus made the year begin with the month of March, and to conſiſt only of ten months. The firſt day of the year, which was the firſt of that month, the miſtreſſes waited upon the ſlaves of their own ſex at ſupper, as the maſters did upon the men-ſlaves at the time of the *Saturnalia*, which was to excite them to ſerve well during the reſt of the year. Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 14.

Numa afterwards reformed this diſtribution of the year, and divided it into twelve months, making it begin with January. This diviſion, though leſs defective than the firſt, was ſtill ſubject to great errors, which Julius Cæſar corrected, with the aſſiſtance of the famous mathematician Soſigenes of Alexandria, in making the year conſiſt of three hundred and ſixty-five days and ſix hours, which before was only three hundred and fifty-four, and one day that Numa had added to them out of ſuperſtition, to make the number odd, which made twelve Lunar months. Plut. in vit. Num. Liv. l. 1. Plin. l. 18. c. 25. Dio. Caſſ. l. 43.

II. *Julian year.*

But Julius Cæſar, becauſe there was ſix hours remaining every year, invented the Biſſextile, which is a natural day, or twenty-four hours added to each fourth year. The reformation of the calendar, with which the year called

called Julian from Julius Cæsar began, was made forty-five years before the Christian Æra, to reckon from the circumcision of Jesus Christ, and not from his birth, which happened in December, in the seven hundred and eighth year from the foundation of Rome.

III. *Year of the foundation of Rome.* It is said, that the foundations of Rome were began the twenty-first of April, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.

IV. *Manner of dating with the Consulship.* Besides the manner of reckoning the years from its foundation, the Romans, immediately after the institution of the Commonwealth, dated also with the year of the Consulship, in imitation of the Athenians, who fixed their chronology by the year of the Archons. This was the more commodious, as the Consuls were annual, and entered upon office the first day of every year, which was the first of January. But in process of time, as the Emperors often created several the same year, the names only of those, who had been Consuls in the beginning of the year, were used in the dates.

V. *Of new-year's gifts.* Herod. l. 1. Dio. Cass. l. 54. It was usual on that day to wish one another happiness, and to send presents. Under the Emperors this was become so much the custom in regard to them, that all the courtiers and principal citizens carried them new-year's gifts.

VI. *Division of the months.* Plut. Quæst. Rom. 24. As to the months, they divided each of them into three parts; that is to say, the Calends, the Nones, and the Ides. The first was called *Calends* from the old Latin word *calare* to call; because antiently one of the minor Pontiffs called the people together that day, to declare the festivals to them, and how many days there were to the *Nones*, which differed according to the month; and from this word *Calends* is derived the word *Calendar*. The *Nones* so called, because

cauſe nine days before the ides, uſually happened the fifth of the month. Four months they fell upon the ſeventh, March, May, July, and October. In the firſt caſe, the ſecond of the month was dated IV. *Nonas*, the prepoſition *ante* being underſtood; the third, *tertio Nonas*; the fourth, *pridie Nonas*; and ſo of the ſecond, always decreaſing. All the months had eight *Ides*, which began on the thirteenth or fifteenth, according as the month had more or leſs nones. Thus the next day after the nones, they ſaid VIII. *Idus*, the eighth before the ides, and the day following VII. *Idus*, the ſeventh, decreaſing daily to the eve of the ides, which it was the cuſtom, as in reſpect to the nones, to call the day before the ides, *pridie Idus*. After the ides, it was neceſſary to reckon how many days there were to the calends, or the firſt of the next month. The months of thirty-one days, which have only four days of nones, as January, Auguſt and December, had each nineteen days wrote *ante Calendas*, or XIX. *Calendas*, &c. March, May, July, and October, which have thirty-one days, of which ſix were marked with the word *Nones*, had only ſeventeen days *ante Calendas*, XVII. *Calendas*, &c. April, June, September and November, which have thirty days, have four nones and eighteen *ante Calendas*. February has only ſixteen. Thus, for the month of January, they ſaid the nineteenth before the calends of February: but for the greater facility, and to avoid error, it is beſt to turn upon occaſion to the Roman Calendar at the end of *Ainſworth*'s Dictionary. The Romans often uſed the word calends for that of months, and ſaid three calends for three months.

CHAPTER XV.

I. *Calends, time for payments.* II. *Of uſury.* III. *Intereſts of money.* IV. *Of bankers.* V. *Of the great place, or* Forum Romanum. VI. *Of the tribunal for harangues.* VII. *Of the milliary pillar, from whence the miles of Italy were computed.*

I. *Calends, time for payments.* Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 25.

THE ſuperſtition of the Romans made them imagine the days after the nones, ides, and calends, unfortunate. As for the morrow after the laſt, it might well be conſidered as unlucky by thoſe who had it not in their power to ſatisfy their creditors; for the * calends were the fixed days for payments, it being the cuſtom amongſt them to lend money at ſo much *per cent. per* month. And as uſury was one of their predominant vices, which had ſubſiſted from the beginning of the Commonwealth, and which had occaſioned many ſeditions, the laws of the twelve tables had regulated the intereſt of loans at one *per cent. per* month. It was at length reduced to half, which made ſix *per cent. per annum*. But notwithſtanding all theſe ordinances, they had ſuch a pro-

II. *Of uſury.*

III. *Intereſts of money.* Plin. l. 14. c. 4. Tacit. l. 6.

* Odiſti & fugis, ut Druſonem debitor æris:
Qui niſi, cum triſtes miſero venere Calendæ,
Mercede aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras
Porrecto jugulo hiſtorias captivus ut audit.
Hor. L. I. Sat. iii.

Tuſidius rich in money out at uſe,
And lands, yet fears to be eſteem'd profuſe;
For five times double he will ſums engage;
And ſues young heirs when newly come to age:
The greateſt prodigals he preſſes moſt,
And lends them money till their lands are loſt.
Creech.

penſity

penſity to uſury, and it became ſo † exceſſive from time to time, that it was neceſſary to add ſtill farther regulations. It was in the Forum that the bankers kept their offices, as well as thoſe who received the revenues of the Commonwealth. In every city of Italy not entirely inconſiderable, there was a company of bankers, who kept their counting-houſes in the public place. People depoſited their money with them, in order to improve it; and alſo applied to them, when they had occaſion to borrow at intereſt. When they had ſet down the name of any one in their books, That amounted to an obligation; and their accounts were admitted as evidence in law. IV. *Of bankers*

What was called at Rome the *Forum Romanum*, occupied the place now called *Campo Vaccino*. This place, which was adorned with ſeveral temples, was ſurrounded with porticos and galleries, in which were ſhops, where all ſorts of merchandize were ſold. This place ſerved for many uſes: for it was a market; the Ædiles and Prætors exhibited the public games in it; it ſerved alſo for the aſſemblies of the people on public affairs; and the Prætor rendered juſtice there. V. *Of the Forum Romanum.*

There was in it a place covered over, where ſtood the tribunal for harangues, called *Roſtrum*, becauſe adorned with the beaks of the ſhips, which had been taken VI. *Of the tribunal for harangues.*

† Dives agris, dives poſitis in fœnore nummis
Quinas hic capiti *Mercedes* exſecat; atque
Quanto perditior quiſque eſt, tanto acrius urget:
Hor. L. 1. Sat. ii.

——— *Druſo, that notorious dun*
Who when the Calends come ſeverely ſues,
And if the debtor does not pay the uſe,
He's clapt in goal, and hears a tedious bill,
A killing ſcrol, item *and* item *ſtill.* Creech.

from the Antiates in the firſt ſea-fight gained by the Romans the 416th year from the foundation of Rome. It was from this tribunal that laws were propoſed to the People, and they were treated with upon all affairs in general. In a part of this place they alſo elected certain magiſtrates: it was called the *Comitium*, becauſe in the beginning the people aſſembled there, when only the *Comitia Curiata*, or aſſemblies by *Curiæ*, took place. Thoſe who aſpired at dignities came thither to canvaſs ſuffrages. Theſe different occaſions always drew thither a great concourſe of people. Beſides which it was the cuſtom of the Romans to aſſemble in the Forum, to tranſact their private affairs, as well as thoſe of the public. It was in this place the Emperor Auguſtus cauſed the milliary pillar, called *Milliarium Aureum*, to be erected, from which, as from the centre of the capital of the empire, they reckoned the miles to all the different places of Italy.

VII. *The milliary pillar.* Suet. in vit. Aug.

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CHAPTER XVI.

I. *Of distances.* II. *Of the Roman foot.* III. *Of land-measure.* IV. *Of the* Basilicæ. V. *Of liquid measure.* VI. *Of the Roman pound.* VII. *Of the shambles, and public granaries.*

I. *Of distances.*

DISTANCES of place was reckoned amongst the Romans by a thousand geometrical paces, of five feet each; and by *stadia* or furlongs, which consisted of an hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces, or six hundred and twenty-five feet. The Roman foot was about an inch less than the French, and was divided two ways, that is to say, into sixteen digits, which were its least parts, and twelve inches. They also used another measure, which was the Roman *Palm*. That which they called the common palm, was three inches or four digits; and the great palm was twelve digits or nine inches. Four and twenty *stadia*, or three miles, made an ordinary French league. From that pillar, on the great ways or roads, were stones at the end of every mile in the form of pillars, on which the number of miles from thence to the milliary pillar at Rome were marked. After the example of the capital, the principal cities of the empire caused milliary pillars to be set up in the midst of them. As to the manner of measuring land, they had other measures, the particulars of which are as follow. The Roman perch was ten feet; the *Clima* contained sixty feet every way; the lesser *Actus* was an hundred and twenty feet long by four broad; the square *Actus* was an hundred

II. *Of the Roman foot.*

Plut. in vit. Grac.

III. *Of land-measure.*

Ifid. l. 15. c. 15.

Plin. l. 18. c. 3.

Varr. de Rur. l. 1. c. 10.

and twenty feet on all sides; and two square *Actus* made the *Jugerum*, which was as much land as a yoke of oxen could plow in one day. The *Versus* was also a square measure of land, of an hundred paces every way; and the *Heredium* contained two *Jugera*.

Rome in process of time became too large and populous for the Forum alone to contain its assemblies: there were several others where markets were also kept; but the first was always called the *Forum*, by way of eminence, because the most antient. In most of these places the vast buildings, called *Basilicæ*, were erected, which were of an oblong form, adorned with colonnades and porticos open on all sides. Justice was dispenced here; and under the porticos merchants assembled, as in the places called exchanges in great trading cities: at the entrance of them all sorts of merchandises were sold. There were to the number of twenty *Basilicæ* at Rome, when it was in its most flourishing condition.

IV. *Of the* Basilicæ.

We must observe, that almost all commodities were sold by weight at Rome, to which even liquid measures were reduced.

V. *Of liquid measure.*

It will not be improper to give the names of those measures in this place; from the weight of some of which, it will be easy to know that of each in particular.

The * *Culeus* held twenty *amphoræ*.

The *Amphora*, forty *urnæ*.

The *Urna*, four *Congii*.

The *Congius* contained the weight of ten pounds or six *Sextarii*.

* *The* Culeus *contained* 520 *quarts, and the* Amphora *a little less than* 26, *according to the observation of a famous modern.*

The

The *Sextarius*, two *Heminæ*, or *Cotylæ*.

We muſt obſerve that there were two kinds of *Sextarii*; that called *Caſtrenſis*, or of the army, which held twice as much as the other: the common *Sextarius* weighed twenty ounces. Plin. l. 7. c. 20. Id. l. 35. c. 12. Id. l. 14. c. 22. Montfauc. Antiq.

The *Hemina* contained two *Quartarii*.

The *Quartarius* contained two *cyathi*, and an half.

The *Cyathus* was ſubdivided into other ſmaller meaſures, about which all authors do not agree.

VI. *Of the Roman pound.*

The Roman pound conſiſted only of twelve ounces, as it does to this day at Rome: but it is ſaid to have been heavier by about an ounce.

VII. *Of the ſhambles and public granaries.*

Amongſt the other buildings remarkable for their magnificence were reckoned the ſhambles and public granaries, that were great ſtructures, of which the inſide formed a great ſquare, ſurrounded with porticos and a colonnade. For the Romans, out of a wiſe precaution, had uſually corn for above a year in Rome, in order to ſupport plenty, and not to be diſtreſſed in times of dearth. The price of it was taxed, and it was ſold out of theſe granaries. The tribute which ſome provinces of the empire paid in corn, ſerved to fill theſe granaries.

CHAPTER XVII.

I. *Of the field of Mars.* II. *Of the exercises in the field of* Mars. III. *Of slaves.* IV. *Of sales by auction.* V. *Punishment of prodigals.* VI. *Chastisement of slaves.* VII. *Of the enfranchisement of slaves.* VIII. *Manner of making slaves free.* IX. *Duties of freedmen to their masters.*

I. *Of the field of Mars,*

THE field of Mars was considered as the most considerable place next to the *Forum Romanum*. It was so called from a small temple in it dedicated to that God. It was situated without the walls of the city near the Tiber, and was much larger than any of the other public places. It was there that the great assemblies of the people for the muster, called *Census* or *Lustrum*, were held, which was made every five years. The great magistrates, as the Consuls, Censors, and Tribunes, were elected in it. The levies of the armies were made there; the dead bodies of the principal citizens and Emperors were burnt there; the Roman youth went thither to exercise themselves in riding, driving chariots, running foot-races, shooting with the bow, using the sling, darting the javelin, and throwing the *Discus* or quoit. It was also here, that the generals, who came to Rome to demand the honour of a triumph, halted with their troops; for they were not allowed to enter the city, whilst they made that demand. Here also was an house for the reception and lodging of foreign ambassadors. It was at first only a simple plain, or meadow near

near the Tiber, as the name which it had retained from thence ſhews: but the edifices after erected in it, made it a magnificent place, tho' without the walls of the city: for the Capitol being no longer ſufficiently large to receive all the ſtatues and trophies of the great men of the Commonwealth, they were ſet up in the field of Mars, which contributed very much to its embelliſhment. We muſt not believe that only the youth addicted themſelves to theſe military exerciſes. They were ſo much the taſte of the Romans, that they continued the uſe of them, as long as health and vigour of body would permit.

II. *Of the exerciſes in the field of Mars.*

Marius, Pompey, Julius Cæſar, and all the great captains of the Commonwealth, took pleaſure in exerciſing themſelves in public, and to ſhew their addreſs even at the moſt advanced age. Plutarch informs us, that Marius not having been able to obtain the command of the armies againſt Mithridates, which was given to Sylla, affected, though old and worn out with the fatigues of war, to repair every day to the *Campus Martius*, where he exerciſed himſelf amongſt the youth, and ſhewed that he was ſtill able to handle his arms. After having obſerved to what exceſs the Romans carried the luxury of their tables, furniture, and buildings, it is not improper to ſpeak of the great number of their ſlaves, in which part of their luxury conſiſted: for the riches of a citizen were computed from the number of his ſlaves. They valued themſelves upon having ſo prodigious a multitude of them, that they were uſually diſtinguiſhed by nations. It were eaſy to quote many Roman citizens, of whom each had above twenty thouſand ſlaves in his ſervice. They were

Plut. in vit. Mar.

Tacit. l. 3

III. *Of slaves.* were distinguished into three sorts: those who had been taken in war, that were usually sold by auction; those bought of dealers, who trafficked for them in markets; and lastly those born in their master's houses of fathers and mothers that were slaves. But before we enter into a farther detail, it is necessary to explain in what manner sales by auction, which were called *sub hasta*, were made amongst the Romans. A spear or short pike was planted, where the criers stood, who like our auctioneers, sold the thing put up to the highest bidder. This custom might owe its origin to something of the like nature practised before the tribunal of the Prætor, where the same kind of weapon was planted, when he gave audience. The same was done in the public sales, probably to denote that they were made according to law.

IV. *Of sales by auction.* Liv. l. 6.

As to the slaves, whom the dealers exposed to sale in the markets, some carried a garland or wreath of flowers on their heads, to shew they were to be sold; others a kind of cap or hat; which signified, that the seller would not warrant for them. They carried a scrole hanging at their necks, on which their good and bad qualities, health and infirmities, virtues and faults, were specified. There was also another sort: these were those, who being free, either sold themselves voluntarily, or became slaves to their creditors. For the Roman laws allowed the creditor to cause his debtor, who had not wherewithal to pay him, to be adjudged to him as a slave, till the 424th year of Rome, when a regulation was made, by which only the goods of a debtor, if a Roman citizen, and not his person, were for the future to be at the disposal of the creditor, of whatsoever nature the

Aul Gell. l. 7. c. 4.

Liv. l. 8.

the debt might be. This law was made upon account of Publius the uſurer's bad treatment of young Papirius, who had made himſelf a ſlave to diſcharge a debt of his father's. As to thoſe who ſold themſelves voluntarily, it was the effect of exceſſive indigence, which often proceeded only from debauchery and profuſion. The Emperor Adrian ſeems to have intended to remedy that diſorder, by decreeing corporal puniſhment againſt ſuch as ſquandered away their fortunes: for he cauſed them to be publickly whipt in the midſt of the amphitheatre, and afterwards they were ſuffered to go where they pleaſed. It is not known whether this wiſe inſtitution took place after that Emperor's death. As to thoſe who had been ruined by ſome accident, if they were reduced to aſk * charity, they carried a little table hanging at their necks, repreſenting the caſualty which had reduced them to that miſerable condition; as a ſhipwreck, a fire, *&c.* in order to ſhew that bad conduct had not brought them to miſery. The maſters had power of life and death over all their ſlaves, and cauſed them to be chaſtiſed when he thought fit. There were however regulations for moderating that ſeverity, and

V. *Puniſhment of prodigals.* Spart. l. 1.

Liv. l. 2. Dio. Caſſ. l. 54.

* Sed cujus votis modo non ſuffecerat aurum,
Quod Tagus & rutila volvit Pactolus arena,
Frigida ſufficient velantes inguina panni,
Exiguuſque cibus, merſa rate naufragus aſſem
Dum rogat, & picta ſe tempeſtate tuetur.
Juv. Sat. XIV.

Thus he——————
Whoſe ſacred hunger, all the ſtores that lie
In yellow Tagus could not ſatisfy;
Does now in tatter'd cloaths, at ſome lane's end,
A painted ſtorm for charity extend.
J. Dryden jun.

checking

checking the violence and cruelty of the maſters, of which ſome, through exceſs of avarice, would not even cauſe their ſlaves to be taken care of when they fell ſick, but ſent them to an iſland in the Tiber, called the iſland of Æſculapius, becauſe there was a temple in it dedicated to that divinity: it is now called the iſland of St. Bartholomew. There they were left without any aſſiſtance under the auſpices of the God of Medicine. It was to remedy theſe diſorders, that the Emperor Claudius paſſed a decree, that every ſick ſlave, abandoned by his maſter, ſhould be declared free, when he recovered his health. And under the Emperor Adrian it was ordained, that every maſter who ſhould kill his ſlave without ſufficient cauſe, ſhould ſuffer death. If he treated them too cruelly, they could compel him to ſell them at a reaſonable price. The ſame Prince decreed alſo, that their capital crimes ſhould be brought before the ordinary tribunals; and, becauſe the laws permitted, that all the ſlaves of a man killed in his own houſe might be put to the queſtion, he limited this cuſtom to ſuch of them only as were witneſſes to the murder, and might have prevented it.

Dio. Caſſ. l. 60.

Spart. in vit. Adrian.

As the ſlave-merchants ſold them at a much higher price, according to the talents they poſſeſſed, they were very induſtrious to find ſuch as had geniuſſes for arts and ſciences, in order to have them inſtructed. Maſters did the ſame in reſpect to the ſlaves whom they had in their houſes: ſo that ſome of them proved not only very happy in the arts, but alſo very knowing in the ſciences. The latter were deſtined to the education of the children of the family, and the other exerciſed trades for the benefit of their

maſters. However, after having finiſhed the work preſcribed them, ſome time was allowed them to be applied to their own advantage; which formed their ſtock, with the four buſhels of corn *per* month for their ſubſiſtance, beſides what they might gain over and above by their induſtry and œconomy. The maſter had no right over this ſtock; but all the reſt was his property. With this permiſſion of amaſſing ſome little matters, they had no right however to make wills. The names they were called by were taken from the different ſervices in which they were employed: the groſſeſt did the moſt laborious and meaneſt works; the reſt were ſolely employed in country-buſineſs, where they cultivated their maſter's lands under managers, who were alſo ſlaves. This was the moſt uſual practice amongſt the Romans, after they left off cultivating their lands themſelves; or if they farmed them out, it was ſtill to one of the moſt knowing of their ſlaves, who engaged to pay his maſter a certain ſum on that account; and if by his labour and induſtry he raiſed more from it, the overplus was for his own benefit. The freedmen alſo ſometimes farmed their maſters lands. The reſt of the ſlaves were employed in the ſervice of their maſter's perſon, and at his houſe in the city. Some of them were appointed to have an eye over the reſt, and to chaſtiſe them, when they had done amiſs. The uſual puniſhment of ſlaves was the whip; and in order to it they were tied up by the feet, or under the arm-pits, when they were to continue long in that condition; and a great weight was made faſt to their feet, to prevent them from kicking thoſe who ſcourged them. Slaves were prohibited to hold aſſemblies or have feaſts amongſt

Plaut. VI.

Chaſtiſement of ſlaves.

amongſt themſelves, to prevent them from exciting revolts, of which there had been many, that could not be quelled immediately. To oblige them to be vigilant for the ſecurity of their maſters, there was a law, which ordained, if any perſon was killed by one of his ſlaves, that not only thoſe who were actually in their maſter's houſe, hut ſuch alſo as were made free by his will, if in the houſe at the time of his death, ſhould be executed. This law continued in force in the Emperor's Nero's time, and took place on the occaſion of Pedanius Secundus, who, as Tacitus informs us, was killed by one of his ſlaves. There were ſlaves at Rome, that belonged to the ſtate. They were employed in works; *viz.* in building, making of highways, and extinguiſhing fires. If their great number were ſometimes prejudicial to the Commonwealth through their revolt, it muſt however be owned, that it was a reſource to her in great extremities; for we find, that after the loſs of the battle of Cannæ, ſhe formed troops of her ſlaves, promiſing them liberty, if they behaved like men of courage. It was alſo a means for augmenting the number of her citizens: for a maſter in making his ſlave free, made him a Roman citizen; and for that effect his name was immediately after inſcribed upon the Prætor's regiſter, with the cauſes of his enfranchiſement. In this manner it was eaſy for the Commonwealth to retrieve the loſſes occaſioned by wars.

Tac. l. 14.

As ſlaves were made free from different motives, there were alſo different manners of giving them their liberty. It was uſually by will, or in the life of their maſter, either out of gratitude for the good offices they had received from them,

VII. *Of the enfranchiſement of ſlaves.*

or intereſt, when the maſter agreed with his ſlave for the price of his liberty. It alſo happened in times of ſcarcity, that the maſters, through a refinement of avarice, often gave their ſlaves liberty, in order to have a ſhare in * the diſtributions of corn, made monthly by the Commonwealth to each citizen, at a much lower price than it was worth. They did the ſame under the Emperors, in order to partake not only in the gratuitous diſtributions of corn, but largeſſes of money and other things. Auguſtus inſtituted regulations during his reign to prevent theſe abuſes, in making manumiſſions and the freedom of Rome more difficult to obtain. As to the making free by Will, not intereſt, but vanity, was often the motive for it. For the Romans carried that beyond the bounds of life, eſpecially after luxury became predominant. They held it for their honour that their funerals ſhould be as magnificent as poſſible; and the great number of ſlaves made free by will, that attended their obſequies, contributed to augment the pomp of them.

Dion. Hal. l. 4. c. 6.

Suet. in vit. Aug. Dion Caſſ. l. 56.

Liv. l. 30. Dion. Hal. l. 4. c. 6.

Conditional manumiſſions were made ſometimes: theſe were, when the maſter retained certain ſervices during his life; ſo that the ſlaves did not enjoy entire liberty, till after his death. There was a particular caſe, wherein the maſter made his ſlaves free during his life for his own ſecurity: this was, when he was conſcious of being guilty of ſome crime puniſhable by the

* Libertate opus eſt, non hac ut quiſque Velina
Publius emeruit, ſcabioſum teſſerula far
Poſſidet. *Perſ.* Sat. V.

O Freedom, firſt delight of human kind,
Not that which bondmen from their maſters find,
The privilege of doles! Dryden.

laws,

laws, and gave them their liberty for fear of being convicted by their being put to the rack; which could not be done, after they were become Roman citizens by being made free. But if a slave had undergone some severe punishments, as the whip, the prison, and been branded in the face for some bad action, which was not uncommon, he could not be immediately made free like others: it was necessary for him to stay a certain time, enjoying at first only what was called the lesser liberty.

When a slave was made free, his head was shaved, and his master after carried him before the Prætor. There was no necessity for that magistrate to be on his Tribunal for that purpose; neither did it signify, where they found him. In presenting the slave he said, *Hunc hominem liberum esse volo; è manu emittere: I desire that this man may be free*; and the Prætor answered, *Dico eum liberum esse more Quiritum: I declare him free according to the custom of the Romans.* In pronouncing these words, he gave him a gentle stroke with his staff of office upon the head. Festus however tells us, that it was the master who pronounced these words, and that in saying them he touched the slave with his staff, and made him turn quite round, which was called in Latin *Vertigo*; and this has the authority of a passage in * Persius. The slaves of the Roman People had one advantage which others had not, and which was very considerable. This was, that on receiving their liberty they became at the same time Roman citizens as well as their masters. The hope of this ought not a little to have contributed to

VIII. *Manner of making slaves free.*

* ——Quibus una Quiritem
Vertigo facit. *Pers.* Sat. V.
——*With a Turn a freeman he became.*

render

render the misfortune of their condition the more supportable. They had not the same advantage at first. Servius Tullius, to augment the number of the citizens, granted this right to all the freed-men, and ordained that they should become Roman citizens, and enjoy all the privileges annexed to that condition at the same time. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who relates this, observes, that abundance of abuses were introduced in these manumissions: that at first only the good services and qualities of the slaves had determined their masters to give them their liberty; but that in his time, under Augustus, they most commonly received it either as the reward of crimes and debauches, or in effect of the master's avarice; which only augmented the corruption of manners, in giving such bad citizens to the Commonwealth. As liberty always depended upon the master, and it was the supreme good of the slave; those who were become freed-men, were not only, in gratitude, obliged to retain abundance of respect for their masters, but they were still subject to certain indispensable duties. We have seen, that they were obliged to attend at their master's house twice a day, morning and evening, to accompany him either about the city, or in the Forum, in order to augment his train; and they were even obliged to assist him, if he was reduced to poverty. There were punishments instituted for them, if they failed in respect: they were either obliged to return into slavery, or were sent to work in the mines. The freed-men, to distinguish their condition, had their heads shaved, their ears bored, and wore a kind of little hat or cap. During a certain time, under the Commonwealth, they were

Dion. Hal. l. 4. c. 6.

IX. *Duties of freed-men to their masters.*

not permitted to make wills, though they might receive legacies left them by the wills of others: but in proceſs of time they had that permiſſion. They could not marry one born the daughter of a Roman citizen; and though, when they were firſt made free, they could enjoy the privileges annexed to the condition of a Roman citizen, they could not attain any but the ſmall offices of the Commonwealth. They were indeed more favoured by certain Emperors, whoſe freed-men became all-powerful, Claudius, Nero, and Heliogabalus. The latter admitted them into all the great offices, even the Conſulſhip. Their children had their ears bored as well as the fathers, to diſtinguiſh them from the citizens born of free parents. I have already obſerved that they were called *Libertini*. They were capable of being regiſter'd in the Tribes, of ſerving in the Roman legions, and even of being admitted to the dignity of Knight.

Suet. in vit. Claud. Herodian. l. 5.

The privileges of ſuch as had the quality of Roman citizens were in general, not to ſuffer corporal puniſhments, as impriſonment, the rack, whipping, or death, except by the judgment of the Roman People, to whom they had a right to appeal from any other judge, or to the Emperor, after the ſubverſion of the Commonwealth. It was to them it belonged to vote for the election of magiſtrates, in the public deliberations, and in the judgments rendered by the People. This quality gave a father power of life and death over his children, and even to ſell them for ſlaves, provided they were not married. Children poſſeſſed nothing as their own in the life-time of their fathers, who had a right to diſpoſe of the whole fortune of the

Liv. l. 10.

Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 8.

family. None but Roman citizens alſo could be adopted, or admitted to inherit the eſtate of another citizen by will, whoſe eſtate, according to the laws, could not revert to any one that was not a Roman citizen. In order to a will's being good, it was neceſſary that it ſhould have been made in the preſence of other citizens. It was not lawful for any citizen to marry a wife, whoſe father was not of the ſame condition; without which the marriage was deemed void, and the children born of it were declared baſtards. It was neceſſary to be a Roman citizen, for being admitted into offices, and liſted in the legions. In the time of the Commonwealth, it ſeldom happened that a Roman citizen was puniſhed in any other manner than by fine, or baniſhment, which was the ſimple proſcription. But Sylla, during his uſurped Dictatorſhip, was the inventor of that called the proſcription of the head, and the prohibition of fire and water, becauſe it extended to life, and ordained, that the proſcribed perſon ſhould be killed, wherever he was found. Baniſhment, which till then had been the greateſt puniſhment a citizen was made to ſuffer, became the leaſt under the Emperors, who inflicted it for very ſlight cauſes. It was alſo under them, that the Roman citizens began to loſe their privileges. They had no longer any ſhare either in the public deliberations, or public judgments: the Emperors ſuppreſſed thoſe rights, and aſſumed them to themſelves. The Emperor Tiberius deprived the People of the right of electing the magiſtrates, in order to confer it upon the Senate; and the citizens were no longer exempt from the taxes, from which the Commonwealth had diſcharged them, when ſhe had attained to the higheſt

Appian. l. 1. Plut. in vit. Syll.

Dion Caſſ. l. 57.

Plut. in vit. Paul. Æmil.

higheſt degree of power. That politic Prince even cauſed the citizens to be put to the rack. Though the Emperors invaded part of the privileges of the citizens, they did not do the ſame in reſpect to the diſtribution of corn, which cuſtom the Commonwealth had began: for they not only took care to continue it, but alſo augmented it in ſuch manner that it became prejudicial, in augmenting that enervate ſloth, to which the Roman People afterwards abandoned themſelves, and of which the Barbarians knew how to take the advantage to the ruin of the Empire. But for the better explaining ſo important an event, it is neceſſary to go back, and to trace the origin and progreſs of the largeſſes made to the Roman citizens.

CHAPTER XVIII.

I. *Of the diſtributions of corn to the People.* II. *Freedom of Rome granted to phyſicians.* III. *Diſtribution of proviſions.* IV. *Diſtribution of money to the People upon the acceſſion of each Emperor.* V. *Annihilation of the privileges of the Roman citizens.* VI. *Liberality of Auguſtus to ſuch as had children.*

I. *Of the diſtributions of corn to the People.*

AFter the Commonwealth had deprived Perſeus of the kingdom of Macedonia, which ſhe reduced into a province, and had ſeized on all its treaſures, ſhe found herſelf powerful enough to diſcharge her citizens from part of the taxes which they paid before. Gracchus, become Tribune of the People, affecting popularity, paſſed a law by which the Commonwealth was to ſupply the Roman citizens with corn at a very low price out of the public granaries. Claudius, another Tribune of the People, roſe upon this liberality through policy, and prevailed, that it ſhould be diſtributed amongſt them *gratis*. Cato of Utica, to gain the common People, whom he ſaw exceſſively attached to the party of Cæſar, perſuaded the Senate to do the ſame; at which time, to the number of three hundred thouſand citizens ſhared in theſe diſtributions intended only for the pooreſt, of whom a liſt had been taken. Cæſar reduced the number of them to an hundred and fifty thouſand; and being deſirous after his triumph to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his liberality, he gave the value of a *mina* of ſilver, worth about an hundred drachmas, to every citizen. He alſo gave the freedom of the city to phyſicians, and to all who profeſſed

Appian. Alex. de Gracch. l. 1.

Plut. in vit. Caton.

Suet. in vit. Aug.

Appian de bell. civ. l. 2 c. 33.

II. *Freedom of the city gi-*

ven to phy- the liberal arts in Rome. He ordained beſides,
ficians. that the Prætor ſhould annually draw by lot the
Suet. in vit. Cæſ. names of ſome not included in the hundred and
Ibid. fifty-thouſand, to ſupply the places of the dead.
Ibid. Auguſtus made this diſtribution of corn month-
Ibid. ly; and ſometimes diſtributed money. The farther we advance under the Emperors, the more we ſee theſe diſtributions augment; many
Jun Capit. of the Emperors having cauſed even habits to
in vit. Macrin. be given the people. Severus exceedingly aug-
Vopiſc, in vit. Aurel. mented the number of thoſe who ſhared in them, having left a prodigious quantity of corn
Spartian. in vit. Sever. for that purpoſe. Marcus Antoninus cauſed even the little children and daughters of the new citizens to be included in that number.
Vopiſc. in vit. Aurel. Vopiſcus relates, that Aurelian, after his triumph over Zenobia, ordained that a loaf of rye ſhould be diſtributed every day to each perſon upon the liſt of diſtributions. The ſame author afterwards obſerves, that he had ordained, that wine, oil, bread, and pork, ſhould be diſtributed to the Roman people; and that it was his will, that this diſtribution ſhould be perpetual: but he does not ſay, whether this was executed after his death. He adds, that he had ſeveral times cauſed white tunics with ſleeves to be diſtributed. Herodian, in the life of Heliogabalus, ſays, that it was the cuſtom, on the acceſſion of every Emperor, to diſtribute money to the People. What continued, and even augmented, theſe liberalities, was, that the Empire often falling into the hands of ambitious perſons, who had attained it only by artifice and violence, they endeavoured to cover them, and conciliate the affection of the People by theſe largeſſes. Spartianus tells us, that after the aſſaſſination of Macrinus, robes, *lacernæ*, of a roſe

III. *Diſtribution of proviſions.*

IV. *Diſtribution of money to the People on the acceſſion of each Emperor.*

Herod. l. 5.

roſe colour, were found, which that uſurper had cauſed to be prepared, in order to be diſtributed amongſt the People, when he arrived at Rome. Caracalla had before cauſed habits to be given them. The diſtribution of corn continued to be made at Rome, after the ſeat of the Empire was transferred to Conſtantinople. It was not the ſame in reſpect to the other privileges, annexed to the condition of Roman citizen, which were inſenſibly loſt, and at laſt totally annihilated under Conſtantine. Perſons of all nations, who for a conſiderable time had been received into the Roman legions, were then admitted into offices and dignities. Auguſtus, to retrieve the loſs of the great number of Roman citizens who had fallen in the civil wars, when he muſtered the People in the ſeveral quarters of the city ſeparately, gave each of the inferior people, who ſhewed him legitimate children of both ſexes, a thouſand ſmall ſeſterces, to facilitate the marrying of them.

V. *Annihilation of the privileges of the Roman citizens.*

VI. *Liberality of Auguſtus to thoſe who had children.*

CHAPTER XIX.

I. *Privileges of married persons.* II. *Penalties ordained against celibacy.* III. *Of marriage.* IV. *The day after the nuptials.* V. *Of divorces.* VI. *The wife retained her maiden-name after marriage.* VII. *Law against debauching maids.* VIII. *Of courtezans.*

I. *Privileges of married persons.*

WITH the view of facilitating marriages, the Commonwealth had long before annexed marks of distinction to married persons, in order * to discourage libertinism, and to multiply the number of the citizens. For it was ordained, that amongst the People, such as were married should have places in the theatre, separate from those of the soldiery; that the married magistrates, or fathers of families, should also have precedency to their collegues who were not so, and that they should enjoy the same advantage in the case of competition for offices. Besides which, she had instituted penalties and fines against those who were for living in celibacy. As the Romans were much addicted to superstition, and they extended it to every thing they did, it is no wonder, that marriage was celebrated amongst them with so many

Suet. in vit. Aug.

II. *Penalties ordained against celibacy.* Val. Max. l. 2. c. 9. Tacit. l. 3.

* Diva, producas sobolem, patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Fœminis, prolisque novæ feraci
Lege marita. *Hor. Carm. sec.*

Goddess of births———
Give us a race mature and strong,
And all those sacred statutes bless,
That guard the nuptial bed from wrong,
And crown the State with fair increase.

cere-

† ceremonies, obſerved the more ſcrupulouſly, as they believed its happineſs depended on them. The firſt thing they did was to take the auſpices before the nuptials, in order to know the will of the Gods; and they carefully avoided celebrating them upon one of thoſe days, which they held to be unfortunate. Plutarch tells us, that they did not marry maids upon public holidays; and that the widows were permitted to marry upon them, in order that they might be ſeen by fewer people; the generality being employed upon thoſe days in ſolemnizing the feſtival. This ſhews, that ſecond marriages were not in eſteem amongſt the Romans. The marriage was uſually treated with the bride's father, from whom ſhe was aſked. When the contract was drawn up, it was ſealed with the ſeals of the parents; and ſometimes the portion was depoſited in the hands of the Augur, who had taken the auſpices. Wives, according to the law of Romulus, had the advantage of inheriting the fortune of their huſbands, if they died inteſtate. When he left children, the wife divided it equally with them. There were alſo people, who made it their profeſſion to negociate marriages, and to whom ſome gratification was given. The Emperors ordained that this præmium ſhould be in proportion to the value of the fortune. The age for contracts was not

Of marriages.

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 25. 86, 105.

Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 8.

† Conventum tamen & pactum & ſponſalia, noſtra
Tempeſtate paras, jamque à tonſore magiſtro
Pecteris, & digito pignus fortaſſe dediſti.
Juv. Sat. VI. v. 25.

Yet thou, they ſay, for marriage doſt provide;
Is this an age to buckle with a bride?
They ſay thy hair the curling art is taught,
The wedding-ring perhaps already bought. Dryden.

Suet. in vit. Aug. fixed before Auguſtus; but that Emperor ordained, that they ſhould not be made, till both parties were marriageable. A maid however might be contracted at ten years of age, becauſe ſhe was deemed marriageable at twelve.

The bridegroom before the nuptials ſent his intended bride an iron ring without any ſtones in it, which was the ceremony of contract. Plin l. 33. c. 1. Upon the wedding day, in dreſſing the bride's head, it was the cuſtom to part her hair with Plut. in Quæſt. Rom. 87. the point of a ſpear, and to divide it in ſix treſſes, after the manner of the Veſtals, to imply that ſhe would live chaſtly with her huſband. On her head they put a wreath of flowers of vervain, and other herbs, which ſhe had gathered herſelf, and over that wreath a veil, which was ſometimes adorned with precious ſtones. They made her put on a pair of ſhoes of the ſame colour of the veil, formed in the manner of ſtilts or buſkins, which raiſing her higher than thoſe commonly worn, made her ſtature appear to the greater advantage. There was anciently another ceremony uſed amongſt the Latins, which was to put a yoke upon the necks of thoſe who affianced themſelves to each other, to ſignify that marriage is a real yoke; and from thence it had Dion Hal. l. 2. c. 8. its Latin name *conjugium*. The firſt Romans obſerved a ceremony in their marriages, which Plin. l. 8. c. 3. they called *Confarratio*: this was to make the new-married couple eat a cake made only of wheat, ſalt, and water, which the prieſt had offered to the Gods, in order to imply by that common and ſacred food, the indiſſoluble union which was to ſubſiſt between them. This ceremony was obſerved afterwards only in the marriages of the Pontiffs and prieſthood. The bride

was

was dreſſed in a long robe quite plain, either white or ſaffron-colour, as were uſually the veils worn by brides. Her ſaſh or girdle was made of wool, and tied in a knot called *Herculean*, which the huſband unlooſed when ſhe was put to bed, invoking the Goddeſs Juno, that his marriage might be as fruitful as that of Hercules. They feigned to take the bride out of the arms of her mother to give her to her huſband. This was done by the light of five torches of pine-tree or white-thorn; for the nuptials were always celebrated in the evening. Thoſe torches were carried by young children called *Pueri lauti*, becauſe they were waſhed and perfumed before-hand. Their number of five was myſterious, as well as the reſt of the ceremony: it was in honour of five Divinities, of whom they ſaid thoſe who married ſtood in need: theſe were Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Diana, and the Goddeſs of Perſuaſion. The bride was led by two young children, of whom each held her by one hand, and a third carried before her the torch of Hymen, which it was the cuſtom for the friends of both parties to take away, leſt it ſhould be made uſe of in ſome enchantment, that might ſhorten the life of one of them: for great virtues were aſcribed to this torch. Whilſt the bride was conducted in this manner to her huſband's houſe, every one ſung *Hymen Hymenæe*, and invoked Thalaſſius, who was married to one of the Sabines forcibly carried off by the firſt Romans. A diſtaff was carried behind the bride with a ſpindle, and a trunk or baſket, in which was her toilet. She was ſprinkled with the *Luſtral* or holy water, in order that ſhe might enter chaſte into the houſe of her huſband. As ſoon as ſhe arrived at the door, which was adorned with garlands of flowers and green boughs,

Plin. l. 21. c. 8.
Plin. l. 16. c. 18. Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 2.
Ibid.
Feſtus.
Terent. Adelph. Catull. Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 31. Plin. l. 8. c. 48.

boughs, fire and water were presented to her, to signify that she was to share in the whole fortune of her husband. At the same time it was the custom to ask her her name, to which she answered *Caia*, to imply that she would be as good an house-wife as Caia Cæcilia, the mother of Tarquinius Priscus. She afterwards put wool upon the door, and rubbed it with oil, or the fat of pork, or of a wolf. The attendants then carried her over the threshold of the door, taking particular care that she did not touch it, because that would have been of very bad augury, and immediately after, the keys of the house were delivered to her, to signify that the whole management of it was consigned to her. She was then made to sit down upon a sheep-skin with the wool on it, to put her in mind that she was to work. When the marriage-feast was over, and the husband was for going to bed, the nuptial-bed was prepared; and after the matrons, called *Pronubæ*, who accompanied the bride, had made an end of giving her instructions, they put her into the genial bed, so called, because it was prepared in honour of the husband's genius. When the bride was a widow that married again, great care was taken to remove out of the chamber, not only the bed, but all the other furniture, that had been used by the first husband; and even the door of the chamber was changed. The batchelors and maids, on leaving the married pair, desired them to live happily together; and before the doors were shut, and they were left alone, the husband threw * nuts to the children to divert the

Plut. Quæst. Rom. 1 & 30.

Plin. l. 29. c 2. Plut. Quæst. Rom. 29.

* Da nuces pueris, iners
Concubine: satis diu

Lusisti

the attention of the curious by the noiſe they made in ſcrambling for them; at which time free ſongs, called *Feſcennine verſes*, were ſung, which were thought neceſſary againſt the charms that might prejudice the conſummation of the marriage. Care was taken, that there ſhould be no light in the nuptial chamber for the firſt night, either to ſpare the bride's modeſty, or to prevent the huſband from perceiving her defects at firſt. The Romans made an infinity of the Gods intervene at this time, and aſcribed abundance of little trivial employments to them, for which it was neceſſary to addreſs each of them ſeparately. The day after the nuptials, the huſband made a feaſt at home, at which the bride, who lay by her huſband on the bed at table, leant upon him with a familiar air. She then renounced all ſhame, and talked with ſo little reſerve, that to deſcribe diſcourſes of exceſſive freedom, it was common to ſay, *ſhe talked like a bride*. Preſents were made them that day, and the married pair ſacrificed to the Gods. The huſband, according to cuſtom, was obliged in returning from the country to give his wife notice, before he entered his houſe: but if he happened to ſurprize her in adultery, it was lawful for him to put her to death. The caſe was not

Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 65.

St. Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. 6. c. 9.

IV. *The day after the nuptials.* Feſtus.

Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 9.

Luſiſti nucibus. Lubet
Jam ſervire Thalaſſio.
Concubine, nuces da. *Catull.* Ep. LIX. v. 131.

Haſte, ſlow lover, come away;
Throw the boys the nuts to play:
Quit, for ſhame, thy childiſh pleaſures,
For thy bride and nuptial treaſures:
Haſte, it is thy wedding-day;
Throw the nuts, and come away.

the

the ſame in reſpect to the wives: for if they ſurprized their huſbands with other women, they dared not object to it. If a huſband, who had found his wife tardy, did not put her away, he might be cited before the judges, as having proſtituted her himſelf.

V. *Of divorces.* Adultery was one of the three cauſes for which divorces were allowed amongſt the Romans: but they were prohibited by the laws to have more wives than one at once. When the divorce took place on that account, the huſband kept his wife's portion: the two other caſes were barrenneſs, and ill-humour. The divorce was made in writing, in this form: *Take away what belongs to you, Res tuas tibi habeto:* the keys which had been given her upon the day of marriage were then taken from her. The firſt who was divorced from his wife was Sp. Carvilius; it was upon the account of barrenneſs, in the 520th year of Rome. More than five ages, which elapſed without any one's making uſe of that permiſſion, evidence the regularity of the manners of the firſt Romans. It was not the ſame afterwards: it was often employed, and principally from the time of Sylla, and under the Emperors. The married women always retained their maiden-names, and did not take thoſe of their huſbands. If it happened, that a Roman citizen had corrupted a free maid, the laws obliged him either to marry her without a portion, or to give her one ſuitable to her condition: but their facility in diſpoſing at will of their ſlaves, and the great number of courtezans, rendered this caſe the leſs frequent. As to courtezans, a free-born woman, or one whoſe father, or huſband, had been a Roman Knight, was not

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1.

VI. *Maiden name retained after marriage.*

VII. *Law againſt debauching maids.*

VIII. *Of courtezans.*

not permitted to exercise the profession of a courtezan: only the freed-woman had that liberty. But the corruption of manners, which increased perpetually, prevented these ordinances from being punctually observed. Tacitus informs us, that the women who desired to exercise this profession publicly, were obliged to declare it before the magistrate. He adds, that their ancestors had believed them sufficiently punished by the shame of such a confession. They caused themselves to be entered upon the registers of the Ædiles, and at the same time changed their names. When they quitted this kind of life to lead one more regular, they resumed their own names. Tertullian says, that which they bore during their debauched course, was wrote upon their chamber-door, with the price of their favours. We find in Juvenal, that Messalina took the name of Lycisca: this was undoubtedly that which she gave herself in the places of debauch. Domitian deprived courtezans of the use of litters, and of the right to receive legacies and to inherit estates. The Emror Tacitus prohibited the keeping of stews in Rome; but that decree did not long subsist. Though the Roman government was exceedingly intent upon preserving good manners, corruption however prevailed in contempt of wise regulations. In proportion as the manners of the people grew corrupt, the government suffered considerable changes, notwithstanding the perpetual attention of the Romans to prevent every thing that might tend to its prejudice, especially during the Commonwealth.

Tacit. l. 2.

Suet. in vit. Dom.

BOOK THE SECOND.

Of the different kinds of government, and magiſtrates, of the Romans.

CHAPTER I.

I. *Of the government of the Kings.* II. *Government of the Kings mixed.* III. *Interregnum.* IV. *Expulſion of the Kings.*

I. *Of the government of the Kings.*

ROME was at firſt governed by Kings, who were elected by the People with the approbation of the Senate, which however did not ſuffice alone; for it was neceſſary that the augury taken from the flight of birds ſhould be favourable, without which the election could not take place. The Senate ſerved in ſome meaſure as a limitation of the power of the Kings, who did nothing conſiderable without taking their advice. After the King had given his opinion upon an affair, the majority of voices decided it, and what had been decided, the King afterwards propoſed to the people, and cauſed it to be confirmed by their ſuffrages. His power extended to religion, the revenues, and the army, leaving the care of other affairs

to

to the Senators during the war. In time of peace he adjudged the cauſes of particulars in perſon; and his judgments had the force of laws, though there were beſides two of the principal citizens, who adminiſtred juſtice in the room of magiſtrates, called *Duumviri*; but that was only in criminal affairs. The marks of the ſovereignty were the crown of gold, the purple robe, the ivory chair, and the ſcepter, upon the top of which was an eagle. The King was attended by twelve Lictors, or Serjeants, each carrying a bundle of rods bound together with a leathern thong, in the midſt of which was an ax, with the blade appearing above them. Theſe Lictors ſerved him in the double capacity of guards and officers to execute juſtice and his commands; whether it were to cut off an head, or whip a criminal; which were the uſual puniſhments amongſt the Romans. On ſuch occaſions they unbound their rods, and made uſe of the thongs for binding the criminals, of the rods for whipping them, or the ax for cutting off the head. Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 67.

II. *Government of Rome mixt*

Though Romulus had taken the name of King, which deſcended to his ſucceſſors, the government however which he had formed, in conjunction with people drawn together from all ſides, was not purely monarchical; becauſe it was neceſſary that the Senate, whom he had compoſed out of the principal of them, ſhould regulate the public affairs jointly with him; and the People were alſo aſſembled in order to give their conſent, when the queſtion was to make peace or war. Theſe new ſubjects, moſt of them accuſtomed to live by rapine, and who had only put themſelves under a chief for the

ſake of continuing it with impunity, could not have been reconciled to a conſtitution purely monarchical. Romulus was aſſaſſinated, only becauſe the Senators ſuſpected, that he intended to eſtabliſh ſuch a government.

III. *Interregnum.* Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 15. Plut. in vit Num.

When the election of a King did not immediately take place, and there was an *Interregnum* for ſome time, the government veſted in the hands of the Senators, who ruled each in his turn, dividing themſelves for that purpoſe by tens, of which numbers each had the command for fifty days. Every one of theſe ten had the ſole authority for five days; during which he had all the enſigns of the royal dignity, and was called *Interrex*. It was he who aſſembled the people for the election of a King. That authority paſſed ſucceſſively to all the reſt of the Senators, who governed as long as the interregnum ſubſiſted; which cuſtom was alſo obſerved during the Commonwealth, when the magiſtrates were either abſent or dead, and the ſtate was fallen into a kind of anarchy. If they did not think fit to create a Dictator, an Interrex, or Governor, was choſen out of the Senate, who after having ruled ſome days, aſſembled the people for the election of Conſuls or Military Tribunes. During the time of that office, and of the Dictatorſhip, all the other magiſtrates, except the Tribunes of the people, abdicated their authority.

The monarchical government ſubſiſted two hundred forty-four years under ſeven Kings, of which Tarquin ſirnamed the Proud was the laſt, in effect of endeavouring to ſet himſelf above the rules which his predeceſſors had obſerved, and to reign as a tyrant. The Romans did

did not wait his death for changing the form of the government. The violence and cruelty of Tarquin inſpired them with that implacable hatred for the name of King, which they retained ever after. This was the real cauſe of the expulſion of that Prince; the violence uſed by Sextus in regard to Lucretia being only the pretext for it.

IV. *Expulſion of the Kings.*

CHAPTER II.

I. *Of the Conſuls.* II. *Time of their election.* III. *Conſuls elect.* IV. *Of the Lictors.* V. *Reſpect paid the Conſuls.* VI. *Provinces allotted the Conſuls.* VII. *Deference of the Romans for age.* VIII. *Alliance of the Plebeians with the Patricians.*

I. *Of the Conſuls.*

IMMEDIATELY after the expulſion of the Tarquins, the Commonwealth commenced. It was governed by two annual magiſtrates, called Conſuls, who were choſen by the People aſſembled in the field of Mars.

II. *Time of their election.*

The time of the election of theſe magiſtrates, as well as that when they entered upon office, differed. In the beginning the election was made in the month of January, and they entered upon office on the ides of March, in remembrance that Romulus had made the year begin with that month, and in order to leave the Conſuls elect a ſufficient interval, between their election and inſtallation, for informing themſelves in the affairs of the Commonwealth; which cuſtom was always obſerved in all the changes that happened in the ſtate, except in ſome particular caſes. For when in effect of a new regulation, they entered upon the exerciſe of their office on the firſt of January, which was the firſt of the year by the reformation made in the calendar of Romulus, they were elected in the month of Auguſt, in order that they might always have time to take cognizance of the public affairs. Theſe two different times for the election of theſe magiſtrates, were not the only variations

variations in that reſpect; there were others alſo, generally occaſioned by the diviſions that happened between the Nobility and People, that either retarded the election of theſe magiſtrates, or cauſed it to be anticipated. During the interval between their election, and entrance upon office, they were called *Conſules deſignati*, Conſuls elect; and in that quality were received in the Senate, where they were treated with abundance of deference. Immediately after the People had elected the new Conſuls in the field of Mars, the Conſul in office, who had ſummoned the aſſembly, and preſided in it, declared with a loud voice the perſons elected. If one of them happened to die during the year of their Conſulſhip, another was elected for the remainder of it, but without power to call the aſſembly for electing thoſe who were to ſucceed. Immediately after their election, they went to the Capitol, attended by the Senate and People, to offer ſacrifices to Jupiter Capitolinus, and to make vows for the proſperity of the Commonwealth. They afterwards ſwore to obſerve the laws, and to maintain the privileges of the Roman people; and to act in all things for the good of the Commonwealth.

III. *Conſuls elect.* Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 92.

They retained all the enſigns of the ſovereignty at firſt, with twenty-four Lictors; but they were reduced to twelve ſoon after the creation of that magiſtracy. They wore the robe bordered with purple, called *Prætexta*; ſate in the aſſemblies in an ivory chair, with a ſtaff of ivory in their hand, and were carried about the city in a litter. The doors of their houſes were adorned with laurels; and when they were preſent at any feaſt, the moſt honourable place was always given them, and they were reconducted

IV. *Of the Lictors.*

to their houſes; which was never done for any other perſon in their preſence. As a greater mark of diſtinction, the people not only roſe up, when they paſſed by, but alſo all the other magiſtrates were obliged to do ſo under penalties; as happened to the Prætor Decius, who not riſing up when the Conſul Scaurus paſſed, the latter avenged that contempt of his dignity upon the ſpot, in cauſing that Prætor to be made to riſe up by force, and ordering the pleadings before him to be diſcontinued. This example ſufficiently ſhews how great reſpect was paid to theſe magiſtrates. If they were met by perſons on horſeback, the latter were obliged to alight immediately. All the other magiſtrates were ſubordinate to them, except the Dictator, and the Tribunes of the People. After their election, they drew lots for the command of the armies; for that command was a principal part of their function. When the dominions of the Commonwealth were extended, the government of provinces were aſſigned them. Sempronius Gracchus in the 631ſt year of Rome paſſed a law on that head, which continued in force, as long as the Commonwealth ſubſiſted.

V. *Reſpect paid the Conſuls.*

Aur. Vit. de Vir. illuſt.

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 2.

VI. *Provinces allotted the Conſuls.*

It was, that the Senate, before the aſſemblies for the election of Conſuls and Prætor, ſhould allot two provinces, in which the two Conſuls that ſhould be elected were to command. The Conſuls elected drew lots for theſe provinces which on that account were called *Conſular*. The ſame thing was practiſed in reſpect to the Prætors, and the provinces aſſigned them, were called *Prætorian*. When the Commonwealth had extended their conqueſts, the two Conſuls not being ſufficient to command the different armies

ſhe

ſhe had in the field, Proconſuls were nominated to ſupply their places.

The Conſuls governed in their turns; the eldeſt, or he who had moſt children, entered upon office the firſt month, and the other the month following: for it muſt be ſaid, to the praiſe of the Romans, that all conditions of them were attentive to expreſs reſpect and deference for the perſons of the greateſt age. The Conſul actually in office, had all the enſigns of honour: he was preceded by twelve Lictors, whilſt the other had but one. It was he alſo who diſmiſſed the Senate, when aſſembled, in theſe words, *Vos non longiùs moramur, Patres Conſcripti: We detain you no longer, Conſcript Fathers.* They regulated whatever related to public affairs, before they took the field. They alſo gave audience to the ambaſſadors in the Senate, where they propoſed all affairs that were to be deliberated upon; and they were charged with the execution of whatever was reſolved. They had a right to aſſemble the Senate; but the conſent of both Conſuls was neceſſary to that, except one of the two were abſent; in which caſe the order of him at Rome ſufficed. They could alſo aſſemble the people to propoſe to them what they pleaſed. Both the one and the other in conſequence deliberated according to the plurality of voices: but as to the Conſuls, they could not conclude any thing without the advice of the Senate, and the conſent of the People. As they commanded the armies, they made all the preparations of war; levied the ſoldiers; appointed the officers; and had an abſolute authority over the auxiliary troops. They could puniſh the officers or ſoldiers who ſerved under them, and diſpoſe of the military cheſt as they thought fit, having a treaſurer under them for that purpoſe, called *Quæſtor.*

Tac. l. 2.

VII. *Deference for age.*

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1.

Appian de Bell. Civ.

There was a body of troops in the army named the *Prætorian* cohort; which ſerved as the general's guard. It was ſo called, becauſe antiently, before the inſtitution of the office of Prætor, that name was given to the Conſuls alſo, and ſignified the ſuperiority of their charge, the word being derived from the verb *præeſſe*, to preſide. It is from the ſame word, the name of *Prætorium* was given to the general's tent.

Varro, l. 2. & 5. Cic. l. 3. de leg.

To conclude, theſe annual magiſtrates having ſucceeded the Kings, exerciſed moſt of their functions; and in the beginning, as there was no Prætors, they alſo adminiſtred juſtice, and adjudged the differences of the citizens. Soon after their inſtitution, reſtrictions were laid upon their authority, by making it lawful to appeal from their decrees to the People, as ſupreme judges: but nothing diminiſhed their authority more than the Tribunes of the people, over whom the Conſuls had no authority. The dignity of Conſuls were conferred at firſt only upon Patricians: but in the 387th year of Rome, a Plebeian Conſul was elected for the firſt time. The People afterwards obtained permiſſion to enjoy all the offices of the Commonwealth, as well as the Nobility. The latter believed themſelves ſo much above them, that they made a law againſt allying by marriage with the Plebeian families, but in the 306th year of Rome, they were obliged by the vigorous conduct of the Tribunes, to conſent to thoſe alliances.

VIII. *Alliance of the Plebeians with the Patricians.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

I. *Plebeian Conſul.* II. *In what manner the Plebeians attained the Conſulſhip.* III. *Abolition of the Conſulſhip.*

THIS partition of the Conſulſhip between the Nobility and People, happened at a time when there was not the leaſt room to expect it: for the Patricians had aſſumed the upper hand in ſuch a manner, that the Plebeians were upon the point of ſinking under their violence and cruelty. What occaſioned this change is too ſingular, not to deſerve a place here. A trivial raillery, joined with the jealouſy of rank between two ſiſters, was of ſufficient force to produce what the moſt lively ambition of the Plebeians had attempted in vain. Livy relates this important fact as follows. Fabius Ambuſtus the Patrician had two daughters, the one married to Licinius Stolo the Plebeian, and the other to Ser. Sulpicius of a Patrician family. The former happening to be one day with her ſiſter, at the time when the latter's husband, who was Military Tribune, returned from the *Forum*; the Lictors, that walked before him, according to cuſtom ſtruck the door with the end of the *faſces*, to ſignify the return of that magiſtrate. That extraordinary noiſe, and the ſight of the Lictors, terrified the wife of Licinius, who did not know the cauſe of them; and ſhe expreſſed her ſurprize to her ſiſter, who anſwered her only with a ſmile of diſdain, which intimated in a more lively manner than any thing ſhe could have ſaid, the difference there was between the wife of a Patrician,

I. *Conſul Plebeian.*

II. *In what manner the Plebeians obtained the Conſulſhip.* Liv. l. 6.

trician, and that of a Plebeian. At the ſame time the numerous train which reconducted Sulpicius, and the honours ſhe ſaw paid to him, effectually excited an agitation within her, which was the more acute, as her husband being a Plebeian, ſhe could not hope to ſee the like honours at her own houſe. Her ſiſter's contempt, and the ſuperiority of rank, to which the ſex is naturally ſo ſenſible, made her fall into a melancholy, which the huſband and father of that lady ſoon perceived, to whom ſhe was equally dear. The latter at length, after much ſolicitation to extort a ſecret from her, which ſhe only kept to make him the more deſirous to diſcover it, learnt from her the ſubject of her chagrin. He conſoled her, and promiſed that ſhe ſhould not be long in pain on that account. In conſequence, by his intrigues and credit, he cauſed his ſon Stolo to be created Tribune of the People. Stolo then, urged by his wife, and ſeconded by his father-in-law, after long ſtruggles, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Patricians, paſſed the law, which ordained, that the Conſuls for the future ſhould be elected out of the Plebeians as well as Patricians; and Stolo himſelf was elected Conſul. To attain this dignity it was neceſſary to be at leaſt forty-two or forty-three years of age, and to have paſſed through the offices of Quæſtor, Ædile, or Prætor. A perſon could not be elected Conſul for the ſecond time, till after a ſpace of ten years: but theſe rules were not always obſerved. The authority of the Conſuls was never more extenſive, than when the Commonwealth was in ſome urgent danger and a Dictator was not created. The Senate then made a decree, which gave them unlimited power, and of which

which the form was in these terms: *Dent operam Consules, ne quid detrimenti capiat Respublica: Let the Consuls take care, that the Commonwealth suffers no prejudice.* These magistrates were however not dispensed from rendering an account of their conduct, if they were accused before the People. Only themselves had a right, on quitting their office, to call an assembly for the election of their successors: but if by accident they both happened to die, an *Interrex* was created to preside in the assembly. On the expiration of their Consulship, the government of a province was given them in quality of Proconsuls. The precaution taken to change the Consuls every year, was no less salutary to the Commonwealth in time of peace, than prejudicial to it in time of war. For different Generals not having the same ability and valour, the Commonwealth experienced sad inconveniences from thence sometimes. However, as it often happened, that he, who had commanded in chief one year, would serve the next without repugnance in quality of Lieutenant-General, (for with them the love of their country was superior to a frivolous notion of honour) the latter's capacity might in some measure supply what was wanting in the General: but as this was not always the case, it was not a certain method for obviating this inconvenience. This dignity began to decline in authority, and continued always in the same state from the first Triumvirate of Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus; and the Emperors laid it under new and still greater restrictions. They nominated whom they pleased to that office, and often filled it themselves. It subsisted indeed a great while under them; but almost as a mere titular honour without power; the Emperors having left it only the right of calling

Liv. l. 4. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. 1.

Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. 2.

Tacit. l. 3. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 1.

calling and dismissing the Senate, and of rendering justice to particulars. However, when an *Interregnum* happened, or the Empire was in dispute between two competitors, they had the administration of affairs.

Herodian l. 2.

When a Prince was for rendering a person illustrious, he granted him the privilege of wearing the Consular robe, though he had not been Consul. He also granted the honours, that is to say the Triumphal robe, and the privileges annexed to a Triumph, to those whom he thought fit to favour with peculiar marks of his benevolence, though they had never triumphed, nor even done any remarkable exploit: these were court-honours, which the Emperors bestowed on those who had the good fortune to please them. Tiberius was the first who caused the oath of fidelity to be taken by the Consuls; which was observed ever after. This office was at last abolished by the Emperor Justinian in the year of Christ 541.

Tac. l. 3.

III. *Abolition of the Consulship.*

CHAPTER IV.

I. *Of the Decemviri.* II. *Of the military Tribunes.* III. *Of the Dictator.* IV. *Cauſes of the ſeditions of the People.* V. *Of the Tribunes of the People.* VI. *Power of the Tribunes of the People.* VII. *Decree uſed by the Senate againſt the Tribunes of the People.* VIII. *Reſpect for the Tribunes of the People.* IX. *Cooptation.* X. *Diſſenſion between the Nobility and People, advantagious to the Commonwealth.*

AS long as the Commonwealth ſubſiſted, the government by Conſuls was the moſt fixed, having ſuffered only ſome interruptions at different times; of which the firſt was in the 304th year of Rome, after the return of the deputies ſent into Greece to collect laws. The Conſuls were then ſuppreſſed, and ten magiſtrates created, who, on account of their number, were called *Decemviri.* They were nominated for compiling thoſe laws, and to form a Body out of them agreeable to the character of the People, and the conſtitution of the Commonwealth; for the Romans had very few before. Theſe ten magiſtrates prepared the laws of the XII. Tables, which during a great length of time compoſed the whole Law of the Romans: for at the beginning, except ſome regulations made by Romulus, there was no other law, in a manner, but the will of the Prince. Numa indeed made ſeveral, to which he ſubjected even the Prince: but from the time of the Kings to that of the twelve Tables, thoſe made by the People tended only to defend them againſt the oppreſſions

I. *Of the Decemviri.*

Tac. l. 3.

preſſions of the Nobility. Theſe Decemviri had an authority like that of the Kings or Conſuls; and as long as they ſubſiſted there was no other, except that of the Tribunes of the People. But having abuſed their power, they were ſuppreſſed at the end of three years; and the perſon appointed *Interrex*, or Governor, created two Conſuls. Five years after thoſe magiſtrates were ſuppreſſed, and others with the like

II. *Military Tribunes.* authority inſtituted in their ſtead, called *Military Tribunes.* At firſt they were only three in number: they were afterwards augmented to ſix, and even more, according to the will of the People and the occaſions of the Commonwealth, part of whom might be elected out of the order of the Plebeians. Theſe magiſtrates ſubſiſted about ſeventy years; after which Conſuls were re-eſtabliſhed, who governed as before, to the end of the Commonwealth: for

III. *Of the Dictator.* the time, whilſt there was a Dictator, ought not to be conſidered as a change in the government; becauſe the Dictators were extraordinary magiſtrates, only created in great emergencies, and

Liv. l. 4. who could not continue in office longer than ſix months; and even without waiting the expiration of that term, they voluntarily depoſed themſelves, as ſoon as they had put an end to the troubles which had occaſioned their nomination. They were nominated by the Conſuls, though their power extended over them, and was abſolute: for immediately after their creation all the other magiſtrates abdicated their authority, except the Tribunes of the People. The Dictator appointed the Maſter or General of the Horſe, who put his commands in execution, and ſerved under him as his lieutenant. This chief magiſtrate had, as the mark of his

ſupreme authority, twenty-four Lictors, who carried the *faſces* with axes before him, in which they differed from thoſe born before the Conſuls, which had no axes, from the time of Valerius Publicola, who, to appear more popular, had paſſed a law, that prohibited the Conſuls to add them to their *faſces*, unleſs they were out of Rome. However, to ſhew that this dignity was not entirely independent, there was a law, that the Dictator ſhould not appear on horſe-back in the army, till he had obtained permiſſion from the Senate and People. The firſt Dictator was Titus Lartius Flavus, who was created to appeaſe a ſedition of the People in the 257th year of Rome; and Julius Cæſar was the laſt, who under the name of *Imperator*, *Emperor*, revived the monarchical government: it was in his time that the office of Maſter of the Horſe was ſuppreſſed.

Plut. in vit. Fab. Max.

IV. *Cauſes of the ſeditions of the People.*

All theſe changes, which happened in the government, proceeded ſolely from the extreme deſire of the Senate to lord it to the prejudice of the People; which gave birth to abundance of tumults. And indeed all the ſeditions that aroſe in the time of the Commonwealth, are to be referred only to two cauſes in general; firſt, the haughty and cruel manner with which the Patricians treated the People, and eſpecially in reſpect to exceſſive uſury; and as at firſt there were no Tribunes to defend them from thoſe violences, the People were under the neceſſity of having recourſe to violent meaſures. The ſecond cauſe, which continued to the end of the Commonwealth, was a jealouſy of authority, which made them always apprehend, that the Patricians, in augmenting their power, would reduce them into entire ſubjection, and deprive them

them of what they called their liberty, which was no more than the power to balance the authority of the Senate. In conſequence, as ſoon as the People perceived any thing on foot, that might tend to the augmentation of the power of the Patricians, they preſently took the alarm, and even refuſed to obey the magiſtrates. From thence aroſe thoſe tumults and commotions, to which the Senate had no other means to put a ſtop, than by employing the People, as they did, in almoſt continual wars with their neighbours. For in thoſe times the love of glory, and their country, reunited them for a time, and made domeſtic diſſenſions ceaſe. But as the cauſe of them always ſubſiſted, they revived from time to time, as occaſion aroſe: however, they became leſs frequent, after the People were admitted into all the great offices of the Commonwealth, as well as the Nobility. It is obſerved, that till the 621ſt year of Rome, when Tiberius Gracchus, a man of a violent buſy diſpoſition, was Tribune of the People, all the differences, which aroſe between the Nobility and People, were terminated amicably, and without ſhedding of blood.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 3. This Tribune animated the two Orders in ſuch a degree againſt each other, that they came to blows, in which himſelf periſhed. The advantage the People derived from the firſt ſeditions, was permiſſion to create themſelves two annual magiſtrates, called from thence *Tribunes of the People*, becauſe their principal functions were to preſerve their privileges, and to defend them againſt the oppreſſions of the Patricians.

V. *Of the Tribunes of the People.*

Plut. Qu. Rom. 81. For this reaſon their houſe was open to every body at all hours, and they were not allowed to abſent themſelves from Rome more than a day,

nor to lie out of the city, except it were at the feſtival called *Feriæ Latinæ*, when all the magiſtrates went to offer a common ſacrifice to Jupiter for the Latine nation upon the Alban mountain. The Juriſdiction of the Tribunes did not extend beyond the city. The two firſt were created about the 260th year of Rome; but ſoon after three more were aſſociated with them, which made the number five: thirty-ſeven years after it was augmented to ten. The Senate was the more willing to acquieſce in multiplying their number, becauſe they rightly perceived, that the greater it was, the eaſier it would be to diſunite them, and to bring over ſome one of them always to their party; and by that means that they ſhould be the better able to elude the oppoſition, which they foreſaw would riſe up againſt moſt of their decrees: for in the deliberations of the Tribunes, the oppoſition of only one of them, without giving his reaſons for it, ſufficed to render them null. The Senate ſoon perceived the error they had committed, in having given occaſion for theſe Plebeian magiſtrates by their haughty and rigorous treatment of the People: for their authority was ſuch, that they had power to aſſemble the People; to propoſe what they pleaſed to them; to put a ſtop to the deliberations of the Senate; and to prevent the paſſing of its decrees by only pronouncing the word *Veto, I forbid it*; and when they confirmed them, they only ſet the letter T at bottom, which ſignified *Tribuni*. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis tells us, that the Senate on an occaſion, wherein the Tribunes of the People oppoſed a decree for levying an army to aid the Tuſculans in the 300th year of Rome, acted as follows. Seeing

Dion Hal. l. 6.

VI. *Power of the Tribunes of the People.*

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 2.

VII. *Decree passed by the Senate againſt the Tribunes of the People.* Dion. Hal. l. 10. c. 8.

ing that the people refuſed to liſt, and not being able to compel them through the oppoſition of the Tribunes, they paſſed a ſecond decree, by which they ordained that all thoſe, who refuſed to obey the firſt, ſhould be conſidered as impious, as the object of the wrath of the Gods, and as ſuch excluded from civil Society. This was an extraordinary meaſure, to which they had recourſe, when they could uſe no other; but it was of no great effect, the people having more regard to their Tribunes, who were their protectors, than to imaginary penalties. And laſtly, they had a kind of general inſpection over all the magiſtrates, except the Dictators, of whom however they fined ſome on quitting their offices. They could oblige all the other magiſtrates, and even their own Collegues, to appear before the People, during the term of their office. They even carried their authority ſo far ſometimes as to impriſon the Conſuls: however, notwithſtanding ſo great a power, they did not enter the Senate during its deliberations; and were only admitted into it, when the Conſuls ſent for them, and ſome affair, which concerned the intereſt of the People, was in queſtion. They waited without, ſitting on benches in the porch of the place where the Senate aſſembled.

VIII. *Reſpect paid to the Tribunes of the People.* Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 81.

They were treated with ſuch reſpect, that it was prohibited under ſevere penalties to ſay the leaſt inſolent word to them; and were regarded as ſacred perſons, who were not named without adding the epithet *Sacroſancti:* they had however no exterior mark of dignity, being only preceded by a ſingle officer, called *Viator*, who was a kind of ſerjeant. They were elected in the aſſemblies by *Curiæ*, or centuries, till the 282d year of Rome,

when thoſe magiſtrates obtained a law, that their election ſhould be made for the future in the aſſemblies by Tribes; and at the ſame time that all which concerned the People ſhould be tranſacted for the future in the ſame aſſemblies; becauſe the auſpices were not taken in them as in the two other kinds of *Comitia* or aſſemblies, and experience had ſhewn that the augurs, who took the auſpices, being Patricians, knew how to render them always favourable to the deſigns of the Nobility. Amongſt all the privileges annexed to the Tribuneſhip, there was one entirely peculiar to that dignity. When thoſe magiſtrates were elected, if the aſſembly of the People did not fill up the uſual number on the day of the election, thoſe who were elected had a right to nominate the Collegues that were wanting; and they were deemed as legitimate Tribunes, as thoſe who had been choſen in the aſſembly of the People. This was called the right of *Co-optation*, but it ſubſiſted only till the 305th year of Rome, when the number of the Tribunes not having been filled up on the day of election, thoſe, who were elected by this right of *Co-optation*, nominated two Patricians of Conſular dignity for their Collegues; at which the People being offended, they ſoon after paſſed the law *Trebonia*, which ordained, that the Tribune, who preſided at the election of the Tribunes of the People, ſhould be obliged to continue the election, till the number of ten was fully completed by the ſuffrages of the People; and this annihilated the right of *Co-optation*. This example of two Patricians nominated Tribunes of the People, is the only one of the kind, for which Livy, who relates it, does not add the reaſon: and if we find, towards

Liv. l. 3.

IX. *Co-optation.*

the end of the Commonwealth, that Clodius, who was of a Patrician family, caused himself to be elected Tribune of the People, supported by the party of Cæsar, in order to banish Cicero, whose declared enemy he was, it was not till after he had caused himself to be adopted by a Plebeian; because that office, according to the law of its institution, could be given only to Plebeians. From the beginning of the Tribuneship, its power continually augmented by the application and industry of those invested with it, who extended it so much, that they appeared almost masters of the government. Sylla during his Dictatorship very much reduced the power of the Tribunes: he even passed a law in the 672d year of Rome, by which every citizen that had been Tribune of the People, was declared incapable of attaining any other magistracy. But after Sylla, that is to say, the 679th year of Rome, Cotta began to reinstate it; and Pompey afterwards in the 683d year of Rome, restored it entirely to its former lustre, which subsisted till 730, when the Senate conferred the whole Tribunitian authority on Augustus. That Prince retained it, and it descended after him to all the Emperors successively. However that office, though deprived of its authority, continued to subsist till the reign of Constantine, when it was abolished: but even under Augustus, the Nobility began to be admitted into it indifferently with the Plebeians.

Suet. in vit. Aug.

Suet. in vit. Aug.

The Senate and Nobility, by endeavouring to engross the government of the Commonwealth to themselves, furnished the People with this means of having more share in it, than they presumed even to hope at first: for the Nobility in the beginning had so much the superiority

periority in the public deliberations, that affairs were decided by plurality of voices, before the People could give theirs. Beſides this diſadvantage, they were alſo excluded from the offices of Conſul, Dictator, other principal magiſtracies, and the command of armies, which were given only to the Patricians: but by the intrigues and efforts of the Tribunes, they at length attained all thoſe dignities as well as the Nobility. A ſpirit of diſſenſion always prevailed indeed between the two orders: but notwithſtanding the troubles it ſometimes occaſioned, an happy emulation ſubſiſted between them, which rendered both more intent to promote the intereſts of the Commonwealth. It was the ſame ſpirit, which induced them to have a vigilant eye over each other: for when a magiſtrate quitted his office, if he had failed in any thing, the Plebeians cauſed him to be cited before the People, to give an account of his conduct, and to inflict upon him the puniſhment he deſerved.

X. *Diſſenſion between the Nobility and the People advantagious to the Commonwealth*

CHAPTER V.

I. *Of what kind the Commonwealth was.* II. *Manners of Salluſt's time deſcribed.* III. *Venality of ſuffrages.* IV. *Difference of the State and of the Senate under the Emperors.* V. *Haughtineſs of the Roman citizens in the time of the Commonwealth.* VI. *Reſpect paid to the Roman people by foreign powers.* VII. *Statue of Tiber, to which ſatirical pieces and lampoons were affixed.*

I. *Form of the Commonwealth*

IN this manner a jealouſy, which would have been pernicious to every other Commonwealth, became advantagious to Rome; which ſhews the excellency of its form, wherein it differed from others: for it was neither purely ariſtocratical, nor purely democratical. It was compoſed of both, to which the Romans, notwithſtanding their averſion for the monarchical form, had annexed what they had found beſt in it, and was wanting to the two other kinds of Commonwealth. Thus their government was an aſſemblage of the three, and ſupplied out of all three together what was wanting to each in particular. But as the work of man can never be entirely perfect, their government, notwithſtanding all their care and application, did not fail to be liable to inconveniencies, which only encreaſed with time, and inſenſibly drew on the ruin of the Commonwealth. Cicero ſays, that there were always three factions in the State; that of the Great, who were for having the government purely ariſtocratical; that of the Popular, who favoured the people; and that of the

Polyb. l. 6.

the Politic, who kept a certain medium between those who flattered the People, and those who favoured the Nobility upon all occasions. But so long as the one did not entirely outweigh the others, and duly balanced them, they were so far from being hurtful, that they were advantageous to the Commonwealth. What the Romans had retained from the monarchical form, vested in the persons of the Consuls; the Senate by its functions represented the aristocratical government, as the People did the democratical by the power they had. For it was by the suffrages of the latter that the Consuls and Magistrates were elected: the People also decreed the rewards and punishments they deserved; and it was before them, that they rendered an account of their conduct when accused, the People having the sole power of condemning without appeal, and of either either rejecting or approving the laws proposed to them. In a word, the power of the magistrates, and of the different orders of the Commonwealth, was so happily divided, that the one was capable of being a barrier against the other, whenever they were for acting independently, and doing any thing prejudicial to the Commonwealth; and therein consisted the wise disposition of this State, and that liberty, which was for five hundred years the idol of the Roman people, to which it was ready to sacrifice every thing, and which the ambition and opulence of its citizens subverted. Sallust makes this evident in referring to these two causes, as the sources of all the disorders of the Commonwealth. At first, says he, the insatiable desire of riches augmented, and then that of power; for opulence naturally generates the thirst for honours. That

Polyb. l. 6.

II. *Manners of Sallust's time described.*

author continues the description of the manners of his times in these terms. Avarice banished faith, probity, and good manners; to which succeeded pride, cruelty, contempt of the Gods, and venality of all things. The Romans employed the riches, that were the fruits of their avarice, in procuring themselves the dignities, of which the same riches had inspired them with the desire, and bought the suffrages

III. *Venality of suffrages.* of the People. Thus avarice produced venality, and venality injustice: for assoon as that pernicious abuse was tolerated, and suffrages were sold, all the wise œconomy of this edifice of State was no longer of proof against storms. The Commonwealth seemed only to wait the rising up of a more audacious, and more enterprizing citizen than the rest. Accordingly, Sylla was not long before he shewed how easily it might be subverted, in making himself Dictator by force and violence. Cæsar afterwards taking him for his model, compleated the ruin of the tottering Commonwealth: but it is probable, that all ambitious and enterprizing as he was, he would never have dared to carry things to that extremity, without Sylla's example, who had opened him the way, and demonstrated the possibility of the success. And in consequence Sylla may be considered as the man, who gave the mortal wound to the liberty of the Roman people. Sallust shews also, that the violences committed under the usurped Dictatorship of Sylla, carried depravity of manners to its greatest height. It was also at that period those different parties began, to which the lust of supreme power gave birth in the Commonwealth, and which at length occasioned its ruin. Such was the government of Rome, and the changes it under-

IV. *Difference of the State and of the Senate under the Emperors.*

underwent till the time of the Emperors, with whom the monarchical State recommenced, which introduced many other alterations. The Senate, which had always been lofty and majeſtic during the Commonwealth, ſunk into the moſt abject ſlavery under the Emperors, and carried its flattery to ſuch an exceſs, as to beſtow applauſes upon all the follies of the Emperor Caligula, the moſt extravagant of all men. The Romans, ſo attentive of old to the public good, had no longer any thoughts but of their private fortunes; but what ſeems at firſt the hardeſt to reconcile, is the ſudden change of that ſpirit of independency and exceeding haughtineſs of diſpoſition into ſo abject and implicit a ſubjection. For during the Commonwealth, the meaneſt Roman citizen believed himſelf above foreign potentates; nor was there ever any nation ſo proud and haughty. Every thing indeed conduced to render them ſo: their continual victories had inſpired them with boldneſs to treat the greateſt Kings with extreme cruelty; and to be aſſured of this, we need only read what Polybius ſays of Popilius Lænas, ambaſſador from the Senate and People of Rome to Antiochus Epiphanes, at that time the greateſt Prince of the Eaſt, who was beſieging Peluſium, a city which belonged to young Ptolomy King of Egypt. That Roman approaching Antiochus, who received him with a gracious ſalute, and held out his hand to him in token of amity, did not vouchſafe to return that civility, and preſenting him the tablets, which contained the decree of the Senate, deſired him to read it. Antiochus, after having done ſo, told him that he would conſult his council upon it: but Popilius, who happened to have a little ſtick in his hand, drew

V. *Haughtineſs of the Roman citizens under the Commonwealth.* Vell. Pat. l. 1. c. 11. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 4.

a circle upon the ſand round the King, and bade him not go out of it, till he had given a preciſe anſwer. That Prince ſurprized at ſo bold and haughty an action, was mute for ſome time, and replied at laſt, I will do what the Roman people deſire. Popilius, and thoſe of his train, then took that Prince by the hand, and ſaluted him as a friend. The Senate, by that decree, preſcribed to Antiochus, that he ſhould immediately put an end to the war with Ptolomy, whom the Roman people had taken under their protection. In this manner the Roman people acted in reſpect to the greateſt monarchs. The terror of their arms had made ſuch ſtrong impreſſions, that not only the tributary Kings, but the Princes in alliance with them, did not refuſe to come to Rome in perſon to render an account of their conduct, when it ſeemed to be ſuſpected by the Senate and People, before whom their cauſe was pleaded, like that of private perſons. Hence it was not extraordinary for theſe citizens to ſee Kings at their feet, imploring their protection. All the powers in alliance with the Roman people, the provinces, and conſiderable cities of the empire, had each ſome Senator, who ſerved them as a patron with the republic, and whoſe protection and ſervices they purchaſed by great preſents; which were one of the ſources of thoſe prodigious fortunes that were ſeen before the fall of the Commonwealth, and which were not ſo common under the Emperors, thoſe ſources having dried up, aſſoon as the Commonwealth was at an end. For thoſe patrons were no longer employed; and the governors of the provinces could not pillage ſo eaſily as before, a ſtop being put to that by the vigilance of the Procurators ſent into

Appian. de Bell. Civ.

Dio Caſſ. l. 57.

into them by the Emperors. The Senators, whose power was become very narrow, were no longer applied to; it was to the favourites and freedmen of the Emperors to whom recourse was had, and of whom protection was bought.

VI. *Respect paid to the Roman People by foreign powers.*

But the better to shew the respect and submission of the foreign powers for the Roman people, I shall again have recourse to the historian Polybius. He relates, that Prusias King of Bithynia having come to Rome expressly to congratulate the Senate upon the victory gained over Perseus the last King of Macedonia, he had the abject meanness to appear dress as a freedman, and to say to them: Behold your freedman, ready to obey you in all things. Advancing after to the place where the Senate was assembled, he stopt at first at the door, with his arms hanging down, kissed the threshold, and afterwards the footstool of the seats of the Senators, saying to them at the same time: I salute you, my tutelar Gods. What could he have done more, except he had sacrificed to them? After these instances we ought to be less surprized, that the Roman people abandoned themselves to that haughtiness which seemed natural to them, than to see them on a sudden so base and creeping under the Emperors. And what ought still to augment our surprize is, that the Senate was the first body of the State, which set the example of the most contemptible adulation, in praising the most enormous irregularities of the Emperors; whilst the rest of the people shewed, in murmurs sufficiently loud, that the spirit of liberty, by which they were animated of old, was not entirely extinguished in them. They retained it long after; for Tertullian in his Apologetic, reproaches the Romans with holding discourses

Polyb. Frag. 97.

Tac. l. 1.

full

full of diſreſpect for the Emperors in the *Circi*, theatres and amphitheatres; and of affixing, according to cuſtom upon the ſtatue of Tiber, ſatires and lampoons againſt them. This paſſage ſhews us, that this ſtatue of Tiber ſerved for the ſame uſe, as that of Paſquin at this day; which has occaſioned that kind of poems to be called *Paſquinades*.

VII. *Statue of Tiber, to which ſatirical poems and lampoons were affixed.*

To comprehend how this extraordinary change could happen in ſo ſhort a time, it is neceſſary to remember, that the civil wars, excited by the ambition of the citizens, had deſtroyed moſt of the antient families, educated in that ſpirit of liberty and loftineſs; for the fury of thoſe wars fell heavieſt upon the Nobility. Tiberius afterwards, in effect of his cruel policy and extreme diſtruſt, cauſed alſo a great number of them to periſh: ſo that the Senate was no longer compoſed, but either of perſons educated during theſe troubles, and prepared for the yoke by the experience of the fate of their fellow-citizens, or of the ſons of freedmen and ſtrangers of all the provinces of the empire, newly made citizens, to whom ſuch meanneſſes did not appear ſo odious. It is no wonder that the Senate, compoſed of ſuch perſons, ſhould ſooner adapt themſelves to the yoke, than the reſt of the people, and give the firſt proofs of it. Thus did the civil wars prepare and bring on a change ſo conſiderable with ſuch rapidity.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 47. Tac. l. 1.

Dio Caſſ. l. 56.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VI.

I. *Of the Senators.* II. *Senators called Fathers.* III. *Income neceſſary to qualify a perſon for the dignity of Senator.* IV. *Fortunes to qualify Senators and Knights at the diſcretion of the Emperors.* V. *Title of* Clariſſimus, *or* Moſt Illuſtrious, *given to the Senators.* VI. *Preſents made by the Commonwealth.* VII. *Time when the Senate's authority was greateſt.* VIII. *Manner of giving opinions and voting in the Senate.* IX. *Senators called* Senatores Pedarii.

I. *Of the Senators.*

IT is now time to ſpeak of the Senators in particular, and to ſhew the origin of that auguſt body, the number of which it was compoſed, and the qualifications neceſſary for being admitted into it. It owed its inſtitution to Romulus, who formed it at firſt of an hundred perſons; he afterwards doubled that number, and Liv. l. 1. Tarquinius Priſcus in his reign augmented it to three hundred, at which number it was long fixed. It ceaſed to be ſo at laſt; for ſometimes it roſe to ſeven, and ſometimes to nine hundred, and a thouſand, which was of very ſhort duration. Auguſtus reduced it to ſix hundred. The Suet. in Kings nominated the Conſuls at firſt; and after vit. Aug. their expulſion, the Conſuls uſed the ſame right, till the Cenſors were created, who having power to degrade, and to reduce thoſe who had Val. Max. l. 11. c. 9. done any thing unworthy of their rank into an inferior order, and alſo to place the citizens in an higher or lower claſs, according to their fortunes, had alſo power to fill up the vacant places in the Senate. And if we find in ſome paſſages of the Roman hiſtory, that the People Liv. l. 3. ſometimes

sometimes nominated Senators, it was only in extraordinary cases. None were pitched upon for these vacancies, but either persons who had passed through the great offices, or Knights. This dignity was not hereditary: it was acquired only by merit, or services rendered the Commonwealth. Their children were ranked amongst the Knights. The Emperors having afterwards assumed the authority of Censors to themselves, which office they suppressed, conferred the dignity of Senator on whom they thought fit. The

II. *Senators called Fathers.* Plut. Quæst. Rom. 52.

Senators were called Fathers out of respect, and because it was their duty to be Fathers of the People: which was the reason that the name of Patricians was given their descendants. But they were distinguished into two kinds, the great Patricians, descended from the Senators created by Romulus, and the small. To distinguish the latter, they were at first called *Patres conscripti*, because wrote upon the same list with the antient Senators: but in process of time, that name became common to the whole body: for they were called so in addressing discourse to them when assembled. It is said, that those who descended from these first Senators, to express the antiquity of their nobility, wore * small crescents of silver or ivory in their shoes, which served them instead of buckles. As it was necessary, that there should be a certain number of Senators in their assembly to render their decrees authentic, those who were absent on the day fixed were fined. Augustus augmented that fine, and caused an ordinance to be made upon that head,

Dion Caff. l. 55.

* Appositæ nigræ lunam subtexit alutæ.
Juv. Sat. VII. *de Quintil.*
The crescent clasp'd his Spanish-leather shoe.

that

that no decree ſhould paſs, if the aſſembly did not conſiſt of four hundred Senators. It uſually met three times a month during the Commonwealth, upon the calends, nones, and ides; but under Auguſtus only twice, upon the calends and ides of every month. The Senators were convoked by a proper officer, whereas the aſſemblies of the People were called by ſound of trumpet. There was no fixed place for the aſſemblies of the Senate: but they always met in a temple, as in thoſe of Concord, Jupiter Capitolinus, Caſtor and Pollux, Apollo, *&c.* It was previouſly neceſſary that the temple ſhould have been conſecrated by the Augurs: and it was for that reaſon that the halls, or *Curiæ*, called *Hoſtilia*, *Julia*, or *Pompeia*, had been conſecrated by the Augurs, in order to the Senate's aſſembling in them.

Suet. in vit. Aug.

III. *Income neceſſary to qualify a perſon for Senator.*

None could be admitted to this dignity till thirty years old; and it was neceſſary then to have paſſed through the Conſulſhip or other principal offices, and to have at leaſt five and twenty thouſand crowns a year for ſupporting it with honour. This regulation was not made till long after the inſtitution of the Senate, and when the Commonwealth was become opulent. For at firſt the citizens were only diſtributed into different claſſes, according to the eſtates which they had; and long after the eſtabliſhment of the Republican State, the poverty of a citizen did not prevent him from riſing to the higheſt dignities, and from filling them with ſuitable decency; becauſe during the time of his being in office, the Commonwealth ſupplied him with all that was neceſſary, when he was obliged to appear in public: for except on thoſe occaſions, they lived at home as private perſons. The Emperor Auguſtus,

guſtus, not thinking even that eſtate ſufficient, fixed the revenue of a Senator at about four thouſand five hundred pounds a year. The Senators were not permitted to trade in any manner: but it is probable, that in proceſs of time ſome of them were concerned in farming the public revenues, as the Emperor Adrian ordained, that no Senator ſhould be capable of farming the public taxes, either in his own, or the name of another. If any conſiderable loſs happened to them in their fortunes, which deprived them of the eſtate preſcribed, the Cenſor in making the muſter or *Cenſus*, ſtruck them off the liſt of the Senators, to place them on that of the Knights, which was below it. And it was ſtill neceſſary, that they ſhould have an eſtate left, ſuitable to the ſecond order, to which they were reduced; otherwiſe they were put into the third, which was that of the People. But when there was no longer any *Cenſus*, nor Cenſors except the Emperors, the quantity of fortune to qualify a Senator, as well as that of a Knight, depended on the will of the Emperors. During a great length of time, it was the cuſtom to receive none into this firſt order, but thoſe called Patricians: but at length even the third were equally admitted, provided they had paſſed through the great offices of the Commonwealth, and had a ſufficient eſtate. Such of the Patricians however, who by diminiſhing their eſtates had been removed into an inferior order, did not loſe the quality of Patricians, which facilitated their advancement to the firſt dignities of the Commonwealth, and their re-admiſſion into the order from which they had fallen, aſſoon as they had acquired ſufficient fortunes for that purpoſe. Thus we ſee that there were three kinds

Dion Caſſ. l. 6.

IV. *Fortunes to qualify Senators and Knights at the diſcretion of the Emperors.*

kinds of Patricians, according to the three orders of the Commonwealth; and that there were in like manner three kinds of Plebeians, assoon as the People had obtained a right to share in all the dignities of the State.

The marks of distinction of the Senators were the robe *Latus-clavus*, or with a large border of purple. They had the most honourable place at the Shews, which in the theatre was the orchestra. Some time after the first Emperors, the title *Clarissimus*, *Most Illustrious*, was first given to all the Senators.

V. *Title of Clarissimus given the Senators.*

When the Commonwealth thought proper to acknowledge the services received from some King in alliance with her, the Senate sent a Senator to him, in quality of ambassador, to carry him the present of the State, which consisted of an ivory staff, like that which the Consuls carried, and the same kind of robe, as that worn by generals in their triumphs. These were the most honourable marks of her gratitude. This custom was observed under the Emperor Tiberius; but we do not find that it subsisted after him.

VI. *Presents made by the Commonwealth.*

Tacit. l. 4.

The time when the Senate's authority was greatest, must be dated from the expulsion of the Kings, till some short time after the creation of the Tribunes of the People, when upon the occasion of Coriolanus, a law was passed, by which it was ordained, that every Roman citizen, Patrician or other, when cited, should be obliged to answer before the People assembled in the *Comitia Tributa*, or by Tribes. For till then no affair had been referred to the People, except by a *Senatus-consultum*, that is say, a decree of the Senate: the Kings themselves had conformed to this custom out of consideration

VII. *Time when the Senate's authority was greatest.*

for the Senate. The diminution of the power of the Senate, and the increaſe of that of the People, began at this period: for till then the Patricians had acknowledged no judge but the Senate alone.

Thoſe who are ever ſo little read in the Roman hiſtory know, that all which related to the adminiſtration of the Commonwealth was tranſacted in the Senate, except the creation of magiſtrates, new laws, and declarations of war and peace, which only the People had power to make.

VIII. *Manner of giving opinions and voting in the Senate.*

The manner of giving opinions and voting in the Senate, was not always the ſame. In the early times they began by the oldeſt Senators, and the reſt went on each according to his age, till it came to thoſe who had no deliberative voices or right to ſpeak. Afterwards, when there were Cenſors, the opinion of the Prince of the Senate was firſt taken, and the moſt antient perſons of Conſular dignity ſpoke next. We find, that in Cicero's time the Conſuls elect gave their opinions firſt. Suetonius tells us, that in Cæſar's time, the perſon on whom the Conſul had conferred that honour in the beginning of the year, continued to ſpeak firſt during all the reſt of it. Under the Emperors, their will ſerved as a rule: for as the Prince preſided in the Senate, he demanded the opinion of him firſt, whom he thought fit to do that honour: however, he more uſually began with the Conſuls. When any one had opened an affair, and the queſtion was to put it to the vote, thoſe who approved it went to the ſide of the ſpeaker, and thoſe of a different opinion to the other ſide; ſo that it was eaſy to ſee at one glance, on which ſide the plurality of voices was, without having occaſion to collect them.

Aul. Gell. l. 4. c. 10. Appian. de bell. civ. l. 2. Suet. in vit. J. Cæſ.

Suet. in vit. Aug.

This was called in Latin, *Pedibus in alicujus ſententiam ire*, from whence thoſe who had no deliberative voices, or right to ſpeak, were called *Senatores Pedarii*. All who had paſſed through Curule offices, though they were not Senators, were admitted into the Senate; but they had not deliberative voices. IX. Senatores Pedarii.

The right of calling the Senate was at firſt in the Kings: and under the Commonwealth, in the Conſuls, Dictator, Maſter of the Horſe, Prætors, Governor of Rome, and Tribunes of the People: but an inferior magiſtrate could not aſſemble it, except in the abſence of the ſuperior; which rule did not extend to the Tribunes of the People.

CHAPTER VII.

I. *Of the Knights.* II. *Of the Prince of the Youth.* III. *Robe called* Anguſtus-clavus. IV. *Gold ring of the Knights.* V. *Knights that farmed the public revenues.* VI. *Of the Nobility.* VII. *The Prætor.* VIII. *The Prætorium.* IX. *The Great Prætor, or* Prætor Urbanus. X. *Provincial Prætors.*

I. *Of the Knights.*

NEXT to the order of Senators was that of the Knights, which was the ſecond in the Commonwealth. They were created to ſerve in the army, and at firſt compoſed all the Roman horſe; but ſoon after there was a different cavalry. They had an horſe kept at the public expence given them, which was armed and capariſoned; and that diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt. But in proceſs of time, the whole Roman cavalry, in imitation of that of the Greeks, had the ſame advantage, except the troops called the light-horſe. At every *Cenſus*, the Cenſors made the Knights paſs before them in review, calling each by his name; and thoſe who had not the * eſtate preſcribed by the law for keeping their rank, that is to ſay ſomething leſs than half what a Senator ought to have, or had committed any action repugnant to good manners, were ſtruck out of the liſt of Knights.

* ——————Exeat, inquit
Si pudor eſt, & de pulvino ſurgat equeſtri,
Cujus res legi non ſufficit. —— *Juv.* Sat. III.

Pack hence, and from the cover'd benches riſe,
(The Maſter of the ceremonies cries)
This is no place for you, whoſe ſmall eſtate
Does not amount to the Equeſtrian rate. Dryden.

The

The horſe kept at the public expence was taken from them, and they were placed in the third order, that is to ſay that of ſimple citizens. Thoſe alſo, whoſe horſes appeared in a bad condition, were ſtruck off the liſt; but only for a time, and they might be re-inſtated at another *Cenſus*.

II. *Of the Prince of the Youth.*

During the Commonwealth, the Prince of the Youth was choſen out of the order of the Knights: he was ſo called, becauſe he was at the head of the young nobility in the feaſts and games. He whom the Cenſor called firſt at the review which he made every *Cenſus*, was acknowledged Prince of the Youth. They changed in that manner, becauſe that place could be filled only by a young man: but under the Emperors, it was given only to the preſumptive heirs to the Empire, or to the near relations of the Emperor; and it was himſelf who nominated to that place. Tac. l. 12.

The Knights were reviewed every year on the Ides of July. They appeared then in pomp, with all the marks of honour annexed to their order, and with wreaths of olive upon their heads, carrying in their hands the military ornaments, which their valour had obtained from their generals. This march began at the temple of Honour, which was without Rome, and ended at the Capitol. It was not allowed at this time to cite them before the judges, in order that they might not fail to be preſent at this ceremony. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 2.

The Knights, as well as the Senators, by way of diſtinction wore a robe bordered with purple, but narrower, to ſhew the difference; for which reaſon it was called *Anguſtus-clavus*. They had their fixed places at the Shews next immediately

III. *Robe called Anguſtus-clavus.*

IV. *Gold ring of the Knights.*

diately to the Senators. The gold ring on the finger was also a distinction annexed to the rank of Knight; but it became common in time to others, for insensibly all the Romans wore it, except the freed-men. Augustus granted Musa, his physician, who was only a freed-man, permission to wear a gold ring upon his finger, and his whole profession at the same time. The Emperor Septimus Severus, after the defeat of his competitor Albinus, gave the like permission to all his soldiers. The Knights, long before the end of the Commonwealth, were exempt from their principal function, which was to serve in the army, and did nothing more than the rest of the citizens. But at the same time they were studious to enrich themselves by farming the revenues of the Commonwealth, which privilege they caused to be given themselves, exclusively of all others. The Knights who entered into this scheme, were divided into as many societies as there were provinces that paid tribute. Besides this advantage, Caius Gracchus being being become Tribune of the People, and desiring to bring over the Knights into his party, rendered them more powerful than they had ever been, by giving them cognizance of the crimes of public extortion and malversation, which belonged before to the Senators. It was at this time the Knights formed a second order of the Nobility, as we have observed already. Gracchus gave them this prerogative, under pretence that the Senators had suffered themselves to be corrupted in acquitting Aurelius Cotta Salinator, and Manius Aquilius, conquerors of Asia, who had been accused of embezzeling the public money. This was in some measure subjecting the first order of the Commonwealth

Dion Cass. l. 53.

Herod. l. 3

V. *Knights, farmers of the revenues of the Commonwealth.*

Tacit. l. 4.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 13. Appian de bell. civ. l. 1.

to

to the ſecond; becauſe if the Senators were accuſed of malverſations on quitting their offices, the Knights became their judges. Thoſe of the ſecond order, who had poſſeſſed the great magiſtracies, were admitted into the Senate, but without having deliberative voices, or right to ſpeak. At length the horſe kept at the public expence was ſuppreſſed: however, we do not find That had taken place in the time of Caligula; as Suetonius tells us, that in a review of the Knights made by that Emperor, he deprived thoſe of their horſes who had a note of infamy upon their names. This ſuppreſſion therefore cannot be dated, till between the reigns of Caligula and Veſpaſian: for Pliny ſays, that in his time the Knights had no longer any horſes kept at the expence of the public. When any place was vacant in the Senate, they were generally filled up by perſons of this ſecond order. It became exceedingly numerous, particularly under the Emperors, moſt of whom admitted their freed-men, or whomſoever they thought fit, to the dignity of Knight and even of Senator, which they beſtowed indifferently upon perſons of all the provinces of the Empire, and often where merit had no ſhare in that gift. The Senate in conſequence loſt much of its authority at that time, having no other part in the government, than what the Emperors thought fit to give it. The good Princes however did nothing without conſulting it; but the bad either had no other rule but their will, or abandoned themſelves entirely to the councils of their freedmen; ſo that all power was lodged in the hands of vile ſlaves, who abuſed it. Though the two firſt orders of the Commonwealth were obliged to have a certain eſtate, we muſt not believe,

Suet. in vit. Calig.

Tac. l. 11. Suet. in vit. Claud.

VI. *Of Nobility.*

that Nobility was to be acquired amongſt the Romans ſolely by riches. It was only a wiſe precaution of the Commonwealth, which, by that regulation, intended to prevent indigence from being the occaſion of committing any thing unworthy of their rank by the two firſt orders of the State: for only the children of thoſe, who had paſſed through the great offices, became noble. It was on this account, that the firſt of a family, who attained thoſe dignities, were called *Novi homines*, *New men*, as being the authors of the Nobility of their family. This is the reproach which Catilina made Cicero, when he was preferred to the Conſulſhip before him, becauſe he actually was the firſt nobleman of his family. Nobility in conſequence was no longer confined to the two firſt orders, when the Plebeians were admitted into the great offices.

Appian. de Bell Civ. l. 2.

The firſt dignities of the Commonwealth, next to the Conſulſhip, were that of Prætor, Cenſor, Ædile and Quæſtor.

VII. *The Prætor.*

The Prætorſhip was annual, and conferred with the ſame auſpices as the Conſulſhip. This dignity was inſtituted in the 388th year of Rome. The abſence of the Conſuls, who uſually quitted Rome to command the armies in the field, gave birth to this charge. It was thought proper, that there ſhould be a magiſtrate in the city to adminiſter juſtice in their ſtead; for that was the principal function of this office; which occaſioned the name of *Prætorium* to be given the place, where juſtice was diſpenced. He was conſidered, in the quality of judge, as the protector of widows and orphans. During the abſence of the Conſuls, the Prætor had equal authority with them. He had a right to aſſemble

VIII. *The Prætorium.*

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the Senate, and to preſide in the public games. He was alſo obliged to exhibit Shews during the year of his office, and to celebrate the feaſt of the *Bona Dea*, or good goddeſs, in which his wife preſided; for the men were excluded from it. He had alſo right to decree and proclaim the public feaſts: he could make and annul laws, but not without the approbation of the People, and the advice of the Senate. He kept a regiſter of all the freedmen that were enfranchiſed at Rome, and of the cauſes why made free. He had a right in the abſence of the Conſuls to command the armies: he wore the robe *Prætexta*; was honoured with the Curule chair, and two Lictors, who walked before him in Rome, and ſix out of the city. He was attended by a regiſter or ſecretary, and other inferior officers, called *Accenſi*, becauſe they ſummoned the People to aſſemble on the Prætor's order. He alſo commanded the Quæſtors, who ſerved him as lieutenants, and to whom he referred a part of the affairs of his office. The Prætor called *Urbanus* or *Major* rode a white horſe as a diſtinction of honour. A ſword and a ſpear were planted upright before the Prætor's tribunal, whilſt he gave audience. At firſt there was but one: but as the multitude of affairs drew abundance of ſtrangers to Rome, a ſecond was created, ſolely to adminiſter juſtice to them. In the beginning theſe places were filled up only by Patricians; four were afterwards added to make the number ſix. Thoſe four took cognizance of certain public crimes, extortion, canvaſſing votes prohibited by the laws, and high-treaſon, which laſt amongſt the Romans intended all crimes againſt the liberty and privileges of the citizens. In proportion as the number was multiplied,

Val. Max. l. 9. c. 12.

IX. *The Great Prætor.*

tiplied, which afterwards amounted to six, the peculiar cognizance of different affairs were assigned to each of them. Julius Cæsar created two, who were called Prætors of Ceres, because they took care that provisions of corn were brought to Rome.

Suet. in vit. J. Cæs.

The aggrandisement of the Commonwealth occasioned the number of the magistrates to be augmented. As soon as she extended her conquests out of Italy, she made provincial Prætors to govern the conquered people. They administered justice, and commanded the troops in their provinces, where they received the same honour as in the city, being like them invested with this office only for a year. Appian tells us, that in the war with Antiochus the Great, the Romans sent *Proprætors* into the provinces newly conquered, to whom they gave half the power of Consuls, with half the honours, which consisted in having six Lictors with their axes, whereas the Consuls had twelve. When the Roman magistrates tried an affair, the judges wrote their opinions, and threw them into an urn, from whence they were taken out, and the cause adjudged according to the plurality of voices.

X. *Provincial Prætors.*

Appian. de Bell. Syr.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

I. *Different tribunals at Rome.* II. *Manner of citing before the judge.* III. *Duumviri.* IV. *Puniſhment inflicted.* V. *Executioners of juſtice.*

IN the time of the Commonwealth there were three tribunals; for they pleaded, either before the People in the general aſſemblies, before the Prætor, who was the uſual judge, or before the judge commiſſioned by the Prætor. Theſe magiſtrates could not be abſent from Rome above ten days; and when they paſſed ſentence of death upon any one, they quitted the robe bordered with purple to put on a mourning one. The citations to appear before the Prætor were verbal: but if a perſon, after being ſummoned verbally, refuſed to appear, the laws of the twelve tables gave permiſſion to drag him before that magiſtrate by force, encircling his neck for that purpoſe in a corner of his robe. There was alſo another manner of citing before the judge; this was to touch the tip of the ear of the perſon cited in the preſence of a witneſs. This method of citing obliged the perſon cited to appear before the judge. In the ſame manner, when they took any one to ſerve as a witneſs, they * touched the end of his ear, aſking him, *Will you be a witneſs for me?*

I. *Different tribunals at Rome.*

II. *Manner of citing before the judge.*

The Prætor had not ſo extenſive a power under the Emperors as under the Commonwealth.

* ——— Licet anteſtari? Ego verò
Oppono auriculam. *Hor.* L. I. Sat. ix.
Will you be witneſs, Sir? I turn my ear
With joy ———

Auguſtus

Suet. in vit. Aug. Auguſtus took from him the cognizance of abundance of affairs, and transferred it to the præfect or governor of Rome. The ſucceſſors of that Prince ſucceſſively diveſted the Prætors of many affairs, to give them to other officers. And when the dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio* was become in a manner the ſole great office, and the ſecond place of the empire, many things were taken from the Prætorſhip and attached to it, ſo that this antient office became then of little conſideration, in compariſon with what it had been during the Commonwealth.

Tac. l. 1. Id. l. 14. Tiberius nominated the Prætors; but we find in Tacitus, that Nero left the nomination of them to the Senate, and ordained, that thoſe who appealed to the Senate from any judgment given by the inferior judges, ſhould depoſit the ſame ſum, as thoſe who appealed to the Emperor: which ſhews that in appeals to the Emperor, it was neceſſary to depoſit a ſum, that Tacitus does not fix; and which ſerved as a fine, in caſe of loſing the cauſe.

Though Nero had left the nomination of Prætors to the Senate, it reverted after him to the Emperors, as well as that of all the magiſtrates.

Under the Commonwealth chicanery had not infected the tribunals; and when eloquence ſhone out there, only the orator's addreſs and ſubtlety in making the laws ſpeak in favour of his cauſe, were to be apprehended.

III. Duumviri. Liv. l. 1. Amongſt the judges inferior to the Prætor, were two called *Duumviri*, who took cognizance only of criminal matters. They could condemn to death: but when the criminal was a Roman citizen, he could appeal from their ſentence to the People. This office was in great conſideration,

as well on account of the power annexed to it, as its antiquity, having been inſtituted by King Tullus Hoſtilius, on occaſion of the murder committed by Horatius, the conqueror of the three Curiatii, on his ſiſter; and it had continued from thenceforth during the Commonwealth.

IV. *Puniſhments inflicted.*

Amongſt the puniſhments inflicted amongſt the Romans, there was one peculiar to them, but not uſed againſt the Roman citizens: it was to brand the criminal in the forehead with the letter S, and ſometimes more letters, or even whole words, according to the nature of the crime. That theſe characters might remain the longer, ink was laid upon them; which puniſhment maſters uſually inflicted upon their ſlaves.

V. *Executioners of juſtice.*

We have already obſerved, that in the beginning of the Commonwealth, the Lictors acted as executioners: but under the Emperors, ſoldiers, and ſometimes young gladiators, were employed, in order to enure them to the ſhedding of human blood. There were however executioners of juſtice at that time, who had their fixed abode in a particular quarter.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IX.

I. *Cenſor.* II. *Function of the Cenſors.* III. *Adjudication of the farms of the Commonwealth.* IV. *Of the Prince of the Senate.* V. *The Curule Ædiles.* VI. *The Plebeian Ædiles.* VII. *The Quæſtor.* VIII. *Comptrollers of the Quæſtors.* IX. *Other kind of Quæſtors.* X. *Of Proconſuls.* XI. *Reducing into a province, what it was.* XII. *Of the inferior officers of the Commonwealth.*

I. *Cenſor.* Liv. 4.

NEXT to the dignity of Prætor was that of Cenſor. It was created about the year of Rome 312. There were only two of them. To be admitted to that office, it was neceſſary to have firſt paſſed through that of Conſul. At firſt it was not annual like the reſt, and its duration was fixed at five years; but it was afterwards reduced to eighteen months. The election of Cenſors was made in the field of Mars by the People. After having returned the aſſembly thanks for that honour, they repaired to the Capitol to take poſſeſſion of their office, and ſwear to act nothing out of enmity or favour, but to adhere to equity in all things. They had two principal functions; the firſt conſiſted in taking the *Cenſus*, or number of the citizens and valuation of their fortunes, from whence they had the name of Cenſors. It was taken every five years, and that ſpace of time was called *Luſtrum*, on account of the expiatory ſacrifice, called *Luſtration*, which thoſe magiſtrates cauſed to be made for purifying the people, after the *Cenſus* was over. The *Cenſus* was inſtituted by Servius

II. *Functions of the Cenſors.*

Dion. Hal. l. 4. c. 4.

Servius Tullius King of the Romans. His ſucceſſor Tarquin the Proud diſcontinued it: but it was revived under the Conſuls, who took that function upon themſelves. As they were often too much employed to have leiſure to take the *Cenſus*, and for that reaſon there had been none for ſeventeen years, it was thought proper to create two Cenſors. We have already mentioned the penalty ordained for ſuch as gave in falſe accounts of the *Cenſus*, and therefore we ſhall not repeat it here. The ſecond function of the Cenſors was to preſide in the conſtruction of public buildings, for which they agreed with the undertakers; in collecting the taxes of the Commonwealth, which they farmed out, and adjudged to the tax-farmers in the open Forum. They were alſo charged with the civil government of the city, and inſpected into the manners of the inhabitants. For that purpoſe they kept an exact regiſter of the names, eſtates, and profeſſions of every individual, as alſo of the number of their children and ſlaves. In this regiſter, every citizen was placed in his claſs, and tribe, according to his fortune. The Cenſors at the time of the *Cenſus* transferred them from an higher to a lower, according to the increaſe or diminution that might have happened in their eſtates: which was the more eaſy for theſe magiſtrates to do, as it was themſelves who eſtimated them. They did this, in order that the aſſeſſments might be the juſter, and the better proportioned to people's abilities: for all the citizens included in the muſter made every *luſtrum*, payed a tax of ſo much *per* head, except thoſe of the ſixth claſs, who were exempted on account of this poverty, as we have already

III. *Adjudication of the farms of the Commonwealth* Cic. in Rull. Plut. in vit. Caton.

IV. *Of the Prince of the Senate.*

already obſerved. The Cenſors alſo nominated the Prince of the Senate, that is to ſay, the principal perſon of that body, who in the beginning had a right to ſpeak and vote firſt: but in after-times the Conſuls conferred that honour upon whom they thought fit, as we have ſaid in ſpeaking of the Senate. It was conferred every *Cenſus*, and might be given to the ſame perſon ſeveral times, as Plutarch, in the life of P. Æmilius, tells us in reſpect to M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was four times inveſted with it. After the fall of the Commonwealth, there was no longer any Prince of the Senate but the Emperor himſelf; which quality he retained for life. The Cenſors alſo nominated perſons to the dignity of Senator, in order to fill up the vacant places. They had power to degrade Senators and Knights, and to diveſt the latter of the horſe kept at the expence of the public, when either the one or the other had committed any action unworthy of their rank. They could deprive a ſimple citizen of the right of ſuffrage, and his other privileges, if he had deſerved it, and make him liable to pay all the taxes laid upon ſtrangers. They had power to lay a fine upon ſuch as had lived to a certain age without marrying: for as we have already obſerved, the Commonwealth, from the intereſt it had in preſerving itſelf made celibacy diſhonourable. The Cenſors were charged with the care of cauſing water to be diſtributed to the citizens according to their occaſions: we muſt underſtand here the water of fountains, which was brought to Rome by aqueducts; for they did not commonly uſe that of the Tiber for drinking. They alſo repaired the public roads, and reſtrained luxury, and the ſuperfluous

Liv. l. 9.

ous expences of particulars. On the expiration of their office, they were obliged to draw up a ſummary account of what had paſſed during their adminiſtration, which was engraved on tables of braſs, and kept in the place called the Temple of the Nymphs. If one of the Cenſors happened to die, the other was obliged to abdicate his office, and two new Cenſors were elected. A perſon could be Cenſor only once in his life. They had not power to call the aſſemblies of the People, nor to make any law. They were liable to be made to give an account of their conduct to the Tribunes of the People, and the Curule Ædiles. This magiſtracy did not ſubſiſt under the Emperors. We find in Suetonius, that Auguſtus cauſed a review of the People to be made by ten men, whom he demanded of the Senate; which was not obſerved by the other Emperors, except Claudius, who cauſed a general muſter of the citizens to be taken, when they were found to amount to ſix millions nine hundred and forty four thouſand; for it does not appear that his ſucceſſors followed his example. Theodoſius endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh this office; but the Senate oppoſed it, and the Cenſorſhip continued attached to the Imperial dignity.

Suet in vit. Aug. Dion Caſſ. l. 53. Tac. l. 11.

V. *The Curule Ædiles.*

The Ædiles were alſo civil magiſtrates. They were annual, and to the number of four, of whom two were honoured with the Curule chair. They were elected out of the Patricians, as well as the Prætors, till the Plebeians attained to all the dignities; for which reaſon they were called the Great or Curule Ædiles. They were created in order to preſide at the celebration of the games called the Great or the Roman Games, ſolemnized to diſcharge a vow

Liv. l. 6. Id l. 7.

made to Jupiter. They had the care of the public buildings, ſacred edifices, *Fora*, markets, tribunals of juſtice, walls of the city, and theatres. They were obliged to exhibit games to the public at their own expence during the year of their office. In proceſs of time, when the places at the Shews were diſtinguiſhed, it was they who regulated and aſſigned each that which belonged to him, and took care that no diſorders were committed there. It was a part of their function to examine dramatic pieces; and they had authority over the actors, whom they rewarded when they had performed their parts well. In a word, every thing that was neceſſary to the repairing or embelliſhment of the city, was under their juriſdiction. The two others, who were called the inferior or Plebeian Ædiles, becauſe they had not the honour of the Curule chair, and were to be elected out of the People, were of a more antient inſtitution than the two former. For they were created ſoon after the Tribunes of the People, and at the requeſt of thoſe officers; who being at firſt but few in number, demanded aſſiſtants to ſhare with them in their functions. But ſome time after, when the number of the Tribunes of the People was augmented, the care of the public baths was aſſigned to theſe inferior Ædiles; as alſo to repair and cleanſe the aqueducts, common-ſewers, and ſtreets; to cauſe the decrees of the Senate, and the ordinances of the People, to be obſerved; to prevent uſury, and to viſit the public houſes, in order to prevent diſorders. No one could ſtand for this office, till the age of thirty-ſeven or thirty-eight. Julius Cæſar added two more to their number, who were called *Cereales*, becauſe they had the care

VI. *Of the Plebeian Ædiles.*

Dion.Hal. l. 6.

care of corn, meat, weights and meaſures. They alſo ſet a price upon proviſions for man and horſe; and if they were not good, they cauſed them to be thrown into the Tiber. The Ædiles were entirely ſuppreſſed under the Emperor Conſtantine. The Ædileſhip and office of Quæſtors were ſteps to the attainment of more conſiderable dignities. Tac. l. 11. & 13.

VII. *Quæſtor.* Plut. in vit. Public.

The Quæſtorſhip might be attained at the age of twenty-ſeven: it was annual, like the Conſulſhip, and almoſt as antient.

At firſt only two were created, who were elected by the People, and always out of the body of the Senators. We find in Livy, that they had power to aſſemble the People. In the 338th year of Rome, the People having demanded to have a ſhare in this magiſtracy, their number was augmented to four, of whom two were for the city, and the other two attended the Conſuls in the field. They had the keeping of the public treaſure; but afterwards thoſe to whom that office was confided, were called Tribunes: that treaſure was kept in the temple of Saturn. The Quæſtors had the care of receiving the revenues of the Commonwealth, and of entering an account of receipts and diſburſements. Thoſe who attended the Generals in the army, and who were ſent into the provinces, kept alſo an account of their revenues as well ordinary as extraordinary, and of the ſpoils taken in war: for it was their buſineſs to ſee them ſold, in order that the ſums raiſed from them might be brought into the public treaſury. They kept the military enſigns, that is to ſay, the Roman Eagles, which were generally of ſilver, and laid up in the public treaſury, when the armies were not in the field. They gave Tac. l. 11. Liv. l. 3. Ibid. Dion Hal. l. 11. c. 12.

out the pay, and distributed the provisions amongst the troops. When the Generals of the army demanded triumphs of the enemy, they attested the truth of their actions upon oath, in order that it might be judged whether such demands were just, and the advantages gained deserved that honour. The increase of the power of the Commonwealth made the augmentation of their number to twenty necessary. These

VIII. *Comptrollers of the Quæstors.*

Quæstors had Comptrollers with them, and none but persons of known probity were admitted into that office; for which reason persons who had been Consuls thought it an honour to exercise it. We have already seen, that the Prætor referred part of his affairs to the Quæstors; for they took cognizance of the causes, which related to the public debts. But after the expiration of the Commonwealth, the change of government induced a considerable one also in the functions of that office. The Procurators of the Emperors, who were expresly created to have the care and administration of the revenues in the provinces of the Empire, where their employment was like that of Receivers-General of the finances in France, divested the Provincial Quæstors of their principal functions; whom Nero afterwards deprived of the cognizance of the causes which related to the public debts, to transfer it to the Præfect of the city. Tacitus, who relates this fact, observes, that this office had almost always been bestowed upon merit till the time of these changes, when it became the reward of Shews; because under the Emperors it was conferred only upon those who engaged to exhibit games to the public at their own expence, which was not practised before. But at length this dignity

Tac. l. 11 & 13.

Tac. Ann. l. 16.

was

was made some kind of amends for all its losses, by the honour which the Prince did the Quæstors in making choice of them to speak in his name to the Senate, when he either could not, or would not, go to it himself.

IX. *Other kind of Quæstors.*

In the time of the Commonwealth, there were other officers, who also bore the name of Quæstors, though their functions were different from those of the former. The Senate sent them from time to time into the provinces, to make informations, and to try criminal affairs. They had also more authority and privileges than those of Rome; for in the provinces to which they were sent, they could assume the Curule chair, Lictors, and the other marks of honour peculiar to the principal magistrates. They had also the care of receiving Embassadors and foreign Princes, of attending them by way of doing them honour, of providing them houses, of delivering them the presents of the Commonwealth, and of executing all that the Senate decreed. Plutarch, in the Roman Questions, tells us, that the foreign embassadors who came to Rome, went first to the Tribunes or keepers of the public treasure at the temple of Saturn to enter their names; that a present was sent them; that when they fell sick, they were taken care of at the expence of the public; that if they died, the State solemnized their funerals at its expence; but that all those expences were afterwards retrenched, on account of the great number of embassadors who came to Rome; and that only the custom of entering their names subsisted in his time. Plut. Qu. Rom. 43.

Besides these different Quæstors, there were others also at Rome and in the Provinces,

whose sole function was to register and receive fines.

X. *Of Proconsuls.* The same necessity that there was for multiplying officers for the provinces, had obliged the State to create Proconsuls for commanding the armies in the room of the Consuls, and to govern the provinces, into which they were sent by the Senate. The maxim of the Commonwealth, in proportion as she made conquests, being to form them into governments,

XI. *Reducing into a province, what it was.* which was called reducing them into provinces, she began by depriving those conquered countries of their own laws and magistrates. She obliged them to receive the Roman laws; and according as the province was more or less considerable, sent into it a Proconsul, a Prætor, or a Proprætor, to govern it, who administered justice, and commanded the troops; and also a Quæstor, to take care that the tributes imposed upon them were paid. Sicily was the first country out of Italy, reduced into a province. When the freedom of Rome was granted to a province or city, it continued no longer reduced into a province. Appian relates, that before the war with the Allies, the provinces of Italy were assigned to Proconsuls. Those governors were nominated only for a year, after which the Senate sent others. If the government happened to be on the frontiers of a country, where there was a war, of which the conduct had been confided to the governor, the term of his administration was sometimes prolonged, that he might terminate the war: but this could only be done by an ordinance of the People in their assembly. The Proconsuls, Prætors, and Proprætors, had sometimes three Lieutenants under them in their governments, according to their extent; for in decreeing those provinces, the Senate fixed the

Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 1.

extent

extent of each of them, regulated the number of troops, assigned funds for their pay and subsistance, and nominated the lieutenants to command under the governors. Tac. l. 6. c. 9. Suet. in vit. J. Cæs. These Proconsuls, or governors, carried with them into their provinces a certain number of young persons of distinction, called *Contubernales*, in order to teach them the trade of war; and they formed a kind of court for the governor. Before he quitted Rome, he went to the Capitol to sacrifice, and put on the robe of war, called *Paludamentum*, which denoted the command of the troops; and which was also done by those who took the field to command the armies of the Commonwealth. They quitted Rome in a kind of pomp, preceded by their Lictors carrying the rods and axes, and attended by their friends to a certain distance from the city. They governed their provinces according to the Roman laws, and the customs observed by the magistrates at Rome. The year of their office was computed from the day they began to exercise the functions of it, and not from that of their nomination. When a successor was sent one whose time was expired, the latter resigned the troops under his command to him, and could not defer his departure above thirty days after the arrival of his successor. If, when his year was elapsed, nobody was sent to succeed him, he however quitted his government, but left his lieutenant to command in it, till the new governor arrived; and at his return he gave the Senate an account of his administration. He also drew up a summary of it, which was deposited in the Treasury thirty days after the account he had given the Senate. Cic. pro Archia. Plut. in vit. Lucul. The Proconsuls had the

Cic. in Verrem. same honours in their provinces, as the Consuls at Rome, to whom they gave place in all things when present.

This was the order observed during the Commonwealth, which was changed under the Emperors. For Augustus being become master of the Empire, and desiring that all the forces of the Empire should be at his disposal, believed as a politician that it was proper to retain a shadow of the Commonwealth, and for that purDion Caff l. 53. pose in the 726th year of Rome, he made a kind of partition of the administration of the Empire, to which he annexed the appearance of the government of a certain number of provinces, that being in the centre of the Empire, had no occasion for troops. The Senate sent governors, with the name of Proconsuls or Proprætors, into those provinces, who administered justice in them, but they had neither the command of the troops, nor the administration of the finances, both the one and the other being confided to persons sent into them by the Prince; that is to say, the command of the troops to officers nominated by him, and the finances to his Procurators. Augustus, in order to have all the troops entirely at his disposal, reserved to himself the frontier provinces, of which the people were most warlike, under pretence of discharging the Senate from the cares of war. The governors whom he nominated to those provinces, were called Præfects: they administered justice and commanded the troops in their government.

These were the principal dignities of the Commonwealth. Though those who were invested with them, were elected only to command the armies,

armies, and to be at the head of the moſt important affairs of the State, it was however neceſſary for thoſe purpoſes to have a particular commiſſion, decreed by the people in their aſſembly. It was in this manner, that the commiſſion to carry on the war againſt Mithridates was given to Sylla; and that of clearing the ſea of pirates to Pompey; and many others of the ſame nature. When ſuch a commiſſion, which was called in Latin *imperium*, was united with the magiſtracy, the latter became the more conſiderable in effect of it. The cuſtom was, during the Commonwealth, for thoſe who quitted the great offices to draw lots for the provinces they were to govern. It ſubſiſted under Auguſtus: but after him the Emperors nominated perſons to the government of provinces. As to the other dignities, which were called *Minores*, inferior; I omit them to avoid ſwelling this treatiſe too much.

Plut. in vit. Syll. & Pomp.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 111.

XII. *Of the inferior officers of the Commonwealth.*

All theſe great magiſtrates had officers to act under them in their functions, as Regiſters or Secretaries; and *Viatores*, whoſe ſole employment it was, to let the abſent Senators know the days when the Senate was to aſſemble. They had others whoſe buſineſs it was to call the names of the cauſes as they came on, to make ſilence, and to give the magiſtrates notice when their preſence was neceſſary. Thoſe called *Statores* carried the orders of the magiſtrates to accuſed perſons to appear on a certain day, and ſeized criminals. There were alſo interpreters to explain the diſcourſe of ambaſſadors, and letters from foreigners. The Serjeants or Criers, in Latin *Præcones*, who cried the moveables and eſtates that were to be

ſold

sold by auction, and who publiſhed, and proclaimed the laws with a loud voice, and whatever elſe it was neceſſary to make known to the People. All theſe low officers of the Commonwealth were comprized in the general name of *Apparitores*, becauſe they were always near the magiſtrates to receive their orders. Theſe offices were generally held by freed-men, the Roman citizens thinking ſuch employments beneath them.

CHAP-

CHAPTER X.

I. *Laws of the Auſpices.* II. *Election of the magiſtrates.* III. *Aſſemblies by Curiæ.* IV. *Aſſemblies by Centuries.* V. *Advantage of the Nobility in the aſſemblies by Centuries.* VI. *Aſſemblies by Tribes.* VII. *Patricians obliged to appear at the tribunal of the People.* VIII. *Every ninth day market-day.* IX. *Of Candidates.* X. *Corruption of ſuffrages.*

I. *Laws of the Auſpices.*

I Have already ſaid, that the Romans were exceedingly ſwayed by the ſuperſtition of Auſpices, and that they undertook nothing of any conſequence, without having taken them. This cuſtom had began with Rome itſelf: for Romulus had not contented himſelf with only cauſing the Auſpices to be conſidered as an act of religion, but had made a law, by which it was ordained, that no one ſhould accept the ſovereignty, nor any other great office, or the command of armies, without having firſt conſulted the Auſpices to know the will of the Gods, and found them favourable. The inſtitution of that law was rather the effect of the policy of Romulus, than of his religion. For in appropriating to himſelf, as he did, the function of Augur, he deprived the Senate and People, who ſhared in the adminiſtration of the State with him, of the power of undertaking any thing contrary to his will, having it at his option to declare the Auſpices good or bad, as they ſuited his intereſts. The Patricians in the beginning of the Commonwealth acted in the ſame manner, in order to extend their authority; and reſerved the dignity of Augur to themſelves. The

Plut. in vit. Rom.

law

law of the Auſpices was obſerved exactly under the Commonwealth, till the Plebeians had attained to be admitted into all dignities: but being no longer of uſe to favour the views either of the one or the other, it fell to the ground inſenſibly of itſelf. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis tells us, that this law ſubſiſted no longer in his time, and that only the form of it had been preſerved; that in order to this, thoſe who were inveſted with offices and dignities, paſſed the night under a tent, from whence they went out the next morning at break of day, to ſay certain prayers in an open place: That then ſome Augurs who were there, and whom the public paid for this kind of offices, came to them, and declared that they had ſeen lightning on the left hand, though they had actually ſeen none: and that the perſon who ſtood for the dignity, immediately went and accepted it.

Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 3.

II. *Election of magiſtrates.*

The magiſtrates were elected in the aſſemblies of the People, which were called *Comitia*, and may be conſidered as the aſſemblies of the States; for they included the three orders of the Commonwealth. The moſt important affairs were tranſacted in them: the laws and ordinances were promulged; cauſes, which were to be heard before the tribunal of the People, were adjudged; and peace and war deliberated upon, in them: but as to war, the conduct of it appertained to the Senate and Conſuls. There were three different manners of calling theſe aſſemblies, according to the different diſtributions of the Roman People, by *Curiæ*, Centuries, and Tribes.

III. Comitia Curiata. Dion. Hal. l. 2 & 3.

The firſt was the moſt antient, for it owed its inſtitution to Romulus, who when he divided Rome into three Tribes, ſub-divided it into thirty *Curiæ*. Each *Curia* conſiſted of a certain diſtrict

diſtrict of the city, which had its peculiar Divinity, with a prieſt named *Curio*, and a place to aſſemble in, called *Curia*, in order to offer ſacrifices to that Divinity at certain times. All the people of each *Curia* were obliged to be preſent at them, and they concluded with a feaſt compoſed of the meat of the victims ſacrificed. To ſpeak in modern terms, theſe *Curiæ* formed in a manner ſo many pariſhes, over all which another prieſt, called *Curio Maximus*, preſided in things relating only to religion. He was elected by the People aſſembled by *Curiæ*; and the other *Curiones* by each particular *Curia*. In the aſſemblies by *Curiæ*, only the citizens inhabiting Rome gave their ſuffrages: thoſe of the country and other cities were not ſummoned to them. Theſe aſſemblies were proclaimed by a kind of Serjeant, who went from *Curia* to *Curia*. They were held in a part of the *Forum Romanum*, which from thence retained the name of *Comitium*. Elections and public deliberations paſſed at firſt in theſe aſſemblies, till Servius Tullius, in inſtituting the *Cenſus*, made a new diſtribution of the People by Claſſes, divided into Centuries, according to which the People were aſſembled by Centuries. He diſtributed the whole Roman people into ſix Claſſes, each according to the value of the citizen's eſtates, and ſub-divided them into an hundred fourſcore and thirteen Centuries. The firſt Claſs was compoſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and the richeſt, whom he divided into fourſcore and eighteen Centuries, including the eighteen of the Knights, whom he added to this Claſs. The four following, each of which he ſub-divided into a certain number of Centuries, were compoſed of the citizens of inferior fortunes, but

Dion. Hal. l. 4. c. 13.

IV. Comitia Centuriata.

but ſtill with regard to more or leſs. The ſixth Claſs conſiſted of thoſe, who were not worth twelve hundred and fifty drachmas, and all the poor; and was reckoned only as one Century, though far the moſt numerous. We muſt obſerve, that the word *Century* is not to be taken literally in this place; and that it is only uſed to expreſs an indefinite number of citizens of each Claſs, obliged to contribute to the arming of an hundred men. Thus in the firſt Claſs, which conſiſted of the richeſt citizens, it was neceſſary to include a ſmaller number of citizens to ſupply that expence; and for that reaſon there were more Centuries in it than in the other Claſſes, in which, the leſs fortunes the citizens had, it was neceſſary to include the more of them for furniſhing the ſum preſcribed: and that occaſioned the Claſſes, that were leaſt rich, to conſiſt of the fewer Centuries. This ſuperiority in number of the Centuries of the firſt Claſs, gave it a very great one in the aſſemblies, called *Comitia Centuriata*, in which the voices were computed by Centuries, and taken according to the order of the Claſſes, beginning always with the firſt. In conſequence, when all the ſuffrages of this Claſs were unanimous, as ſometimes happened, it could determine alone in public affairs, without its being neceſſary to proceed to the votes of the reſt; becauſe it exceeded them all in the number of its Centuries: ſo that the Patricians, and the richeſt citizens, engroſſed the principal ſhare in the government; the reſt, to uſe the expreſſion, making only ineffectual number. But at the ſame time, by this diſtribution, they in a great meaſure ſupported all the expences of the State, that is to ſay, the taxes and military ſervice: for the poor were exempt from them, as

V. *Advantage of the nobility in the* Comitia Centuriata.

we have already ſeen. To render this the more ſupportable, Servius Tullius transferred all power to them, in ordaining, that the aſſemblies, which had hitherto been held only by *Curiæ*, ſhould be held for the future only by Centuries. We find however in hiſtory, that Brutus, after the expulſion of the Kings, aſſembled the People by *Curiæ*. During the holding of any kind of aſſemblies, an enſign was planted upon the top of the Capitol, which was ſtruck aſſoon as they were over. Under the Commonwealth the People, being diſguſted with ſeeing the Patricians and the rich ſole arbiters of all deliberations in the aſſemblies by Centuries, prevailed at length, with the aid of their Tribunes, that the aſſemblies ſhould be held by Tribes. The firſt time they were held in this manner, was about the 265th year of Rome, upon the occaſion of the trial of Coriolanus, who had drawn upon himſelf the hatred of the People by his rigid and haughty behaviour, and was accuſed of embezzling the public money. He was condemned in conſequence, notwithſtanding the intrigues and efforts of the Patricians in his favour; which was the firſt inſtance of a Patrician's being cited before the tribunal of the People: for till then the Patricians had acknowledged no other than that of the Senate. But in the 306th year of Rome, the Tribunes of the People paſſed a law, which ordained, that the Patricians, as well as the Plebeians, ſhould be obliged to obey the deciſions of the aſſemblies by Tribes, and that they ſhould have the force of laws. From thenceforth, no citizen was exempted from appearing before the tribunal of the People, when cited.

Dion. Hal. l. 7. c. 15.

VI. Comitia Tributa. Dion. Hal. l. 7. c. 9.

VII. *Patricians obliged to appear at the tribunal of the People.*

In

In the *Comitia Tributa*, or assemblies by Tribes, all such as were Roman citizens, in whatsoever part of the dominions of the Commonwealth they resided, had a right to vote except they had been deprived of it by the Censor for some delinquency, as may be seen in the article of Censors. These Comitia were held in the field of Mars, as well as those by Centuries. They were proclaimed by sound of trumpet, or kind of cornet, (and not by the mouth of a summoner, as the assemblies by *Curiæ* were) three market-days successively, which were held every ninth day. This interval was allowed, that those who had a right to give their suffrages, and who resided in the country or colonies, might be informed of them. During the time from the first to the last of three successive market-days, notices were fixed up in all the cross-ways, and most public places of the city, wherein the affairs to come on in these assemblies were specified. But if the question was to propose some law, the People were advertised of it, and it was exposed to the public wrote on a table, that the People during that time might consider it, and be the better able to speak upon it on the day of the assembly. When any one was cited before the People to take his trial, he was also allowed twenty-seven days, or three market-days; and on the first of those three days, the People being assembled, the accuser ascended the tribunal of harangues, and assigned the accused the third market-day for his appearance; in order that the People might have time to take cognizance of the affair, and the accused to prepare for his defence. In the assemblies by Tribes, it was not necessary to communicate the matters on which they were to deliberate,

VIII. *Every ninth day market-day.*

liberate, previouſly to the Senate, nor to take the Auſpices, as was done in the aſſemblies by *Curiæ* and Centuries, that were liable to being diſmiſſed without proceeding to buſineſs, when the Auſpices were not favourable, which practice degenerated into an abuſe. It was often made uſe of as a pretext for breaking up aſſemblies, when it was foreſeen, that they would not prove favourable to what was to be propoſed. Before the votes in the *Comitia* by Tribes were taken, the Tribe which was to vote firſt was drawn by lot; which was alſo done in the aſſemblies by *Curiæ*; and from the 512th year of Rome, when the whole People were divided into thirty-five Tribes, in which the Centuries were included, the ſame was obſerved in the aſſemblies by Centuries, in which the Tribes firſt, and afterwards the Centuries, were made to draw lots, without regard to the order of the latter, as before. Theſe new diſpoſitions in the manner of holding the aſſemblies, did not occaſion the changing of their names; and though that of Century no longer ſignified the number of thoſe who contributed to arm an hundred men, as the ſoldiery were then armed and paid out of the public treaſury, the ſame name however was always uſed in the diſtribution of the Roman People. Appian relates in his firſt book of the civil wars of the Romans, when the Commonwealth granted the freedom of Rome to the inhabitants of Italy whom ſhe called her allies, that they were not diſtributed into the thirty-five Tribes of the city, leſt they ſhould exceed them in number, but that they were formed into new ones, ſub-divided into *Decuriæ*, and gave their ſuffrages laſt, which were often ſuperfluous, becauſe the old ones were more than half the

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 20.

Tribes. In proceſs of time, this diſadvantage, which was obſerved, gave birth to new diviſions, and they were at length incorporated into the old tribes, of which the number continued fixed at thirty-five. In all the aſſemblies the ſuffrages were conſtantly given with a loud voice, till the 614th year of Rome, when the cuſtom of ſcrutinies was introduced. The People at that time, being no longer checked by the ſhame of giving their votes to bad citizens, ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by bribes, and introduced a venality of ſuffrages, that was ſoon fatal to the Commonwealth. The aſſemblies by tribes, conſiſting of all the Roman citizens in general, were more common than others, becauſe every thing that related to the People in particular, was tranſacted in them. The *Plebiſcita*, or ordinances of the People, which were not of the juriſdiction of the other aſſemblies, as well as the election of the magiſtrates, were made in them. Theſe *Plebiſcita* were not ſubmitted to the examination of the Senate. Every different kind of aſſembly had its peculiar ſpecies of affairs aſſigned to it, as certain kinds of trials, deliberations, and the election of particular magiſtrates, which however were not always the ſame, and varied, as appears from the many changes, of which the augmentation of the Roman People, and the ſhare the Plebeians attained in the government, were the principal cauſes. For in the beginning, the magiſtrates of every kind were elected in the aſſemblies by *Curiæ*. When the aſſemblies by centuries took place afterwards, the great magiſtrates were elected in them, and afterwards in the aſſemblies by tribes. There remained nothing for the aſſemblies by *Curiæ*, except

Grat. de Rom. l. 1. c. 4.

except the confirmation of the perſons who had been elected in thoſe by centuries, the promulgation of laws, and the creation of prieſts, which they ſtill retained. In them the taking of the auſpices, a ceremony unknown to the aſſemblies by tribes, was indiſpenſibly neceſſary. After the municipal cities of Italy had obtained the freedom of Rome, as they were alſo for ſharing in the election of the inferior magiſtrates, it was no longer peculiar to the aſſemblies by *Curiæ*, but was transferred to thoſe by tribes, on condition however, that thoſe elections ſhould be confirmed by the *Curiæ*, that they might not be exempted from the law of auſpices attached to thoſe aſſemblies. At length we find in Cicero's time, that this cuſtom was obſerved no longer; and that the Romans contented themſelves with retaining the form of it, in continuing to aſſemble only thirty Lictors, who repreſented the thirty *Curiæ*, in order to make known the auſpices it was the cuſtom to take in them.

Hiſtory is not ſo clear as it were to be wiſhed in reſpect to the times of theſe variations. A magiſtrate conſtantly preſided in all theſe aſſemblies, who opened them with a diſcourſe upon the affair that was to come on, whether it were the election of a magiſtrate or any thing elſe. The elections of the magiſtrates were always preceded by a *Senatus-conſultum*, or decree of the Senate, that ordained an aſſembly of the People. But all theſe different kinds of aſſemblies were not exempt from influence and canvaſſing. Thoſe practices even became ſo frequent, that it was neceſſary to make laws to prevent them: but thoſe laws were ſo far from putting a ſtop to them, that they ſerved only to make the Romans more ingenious in continuing them.

Dio Fal. l. 11. c. 2.

Some time before the fall of the Commonwealth, the factions, which the luſt of power had generated in the State, employed diſtributions of money to the people for gaining their ſuffrages. Such a corruption manifeſtly denounced the approaching ruin of the Commonwealth, and accordingly was one of the principal cauſes of it.

Plut. in vit. Pomp.

IX. *Of candidates.* Polyb. l. 10.

Thoſe who ſtood for offices were called *Candidati*, becauſe during the two years that they demanded them they were obliged, when they appeared in the aſſemblies of the People, to have only a white robe on without the tunic underneath, to remove all ſuſpicion of carrying money about them to purchaſe ſuffrages, and in order to be able, if they had received wounds in the army, to ſhew them with the greater eaſe to the people in opening their robe, and thereby to conciliate their favour. Theſe robes were whitened with chalk, which made their colour more lively than that of thoſe uſually worn by the Romans, which made the *Candidates* the more remarkable. They were called ſo from the word *candere* to be white. The firſt thing they did was to obtain the magiſtrate's permiſſion to harangue, or to cauſe others to harangue, the people, in order to conciliate their favour, and obtain their conſent, in reſpect to the offices they deſired. In thoſe diſcourſes they did not fail to ſet off the candidate's merit and ſervices, and thoſe of his anceſtors. The firſt year was employed in making friends amongſt ſuch as had moſt credit, and in endeavouring to render themſelves agreeable to the People. After having effected that, they informed the magiſtrate of it; and prevailed upon him to put them upon the liſt of thoſe who ſtood for office. The

Plut. in vit. Coriol. & Quæſt. Rom. 49.

magiſtrate after having made enquiries into the candidate's manners, conſulted with the Senate, whether he ſhould be admitted into the number of thoſe, that were to be preſented to the People. Though that had been granted, he had ſtill the Tribunes of the People to fear, who had power to exclude him on the day of election. Beſides this it was neceſſary to have all the qualities requiſite to the office in queſtion; and if a perſon ſtood for the Conſulſhip, it was neceſſary to demand it himſelf; that dignity not being conferred on the abſent. It was not neceſſary to make intereſt during ſo conſiderable a ſpace of time, if the candidate was well known from the ſervices he had done in the armies, and particularly if he was actually employed in them; in which caſe it ſufficed that he appeared at Rome a little before the election. Marius acted in that manner, when he was elected Tribune of the People, and afterwards Conſul. The law *Tullia* prohibited all candidates to give games or feaſts to the public; leſt the ſuffrages of the People ſhould be obtained by their means. But in other reſpects nothing was ſpared for attaining them: careſſes, intrigues, largeſſes were employed; and towards the end of the Commonwealth they went ſo far as even to corrupt the diſtributors of the ballots, who in delivering them to the people for the ſcrutiny, dexterouſly ſlipt a piece of gold under them to each perſon. For after the ſuffrages ceaſed to be given *viva voce*, ballots were uſed, upon which for the election of magiſtrates the names of the candidates were written, and as many of them diſtributed to each citizen, as there were competitors. But if the queſtion was to paſs ſome law or decree, which had been

Plut. in vit Mar.

X. *Corruption of ſuffrages.*

propoſed to the People, only two ballots were given to each voter, the one to approve, and the other to reject. Upon the firſt were an U and an R, which ſignified *uti rogas*, *as you propoſe*; and on the negative one was the letter A, the initial of *Antiquo*, *I aboliſh*. If the queſtion were to paſs judgment either for condemning or acquitting any one, three ballots were given each citizen, of which one had an A upon it, that ſignified *abſolvo*, *I acquit*; another a C, which ſignified *condemno*, *I condemn*; and on the third were an N and an L, to expreſs *non liquet*, *it does not ſufficiently appear*. This laſt was uſed, when the accuſed perſon could not juſtify himſelf entirely, and however did not abſolutely appear guilty.

When the day of the election arrived, the candidates, after having appeared on the Quirinal hill, in order to ſhew themſelves the better to the whole people, went down into the field of Mars, accompanied by their relations and friends, at the head of whom there always was ſome perſon of great diſtinction in the Commonwealth, to ſupport their demand by his preſence, and aſſiſt them in rendering the ſuffrages favourable. At this time they treated every individual with great reſpect, deſiring their intereſt, taking them by the hand, and ſaluting each by his name: for That was thought politeneſs amongſt the Romans; and therefore the candidate had uſually along with him one of thoſe perſons called * *Nomenclators*, who told him

Cic. in Piſon.

Tac. l. 12.

* Si fortunatum ſpecies & gratia præſtat;
Mercemur ſervum, qui dictet nomina, lævum
Qui ſodiat latus, & cogat trans pondera dextram
Porrigere. Hic multùm in Fabiâ valet, ille Velinâ;
Cuilibet

him the names of the citizens he did not know. To conclude, they were ſo fawning on theſe occaſions, that they embraced the knees of thoſe whoſe ſuffrages they ſollicited. The manner of taking the voices, after lots had decided which Century or Tribe ſhould begin, was to make them file off over a little bridge, made for that purpoſe, in the field of Mars. This bridge terminated in a large incloſure, called *ovile* from its reſemblance to a ſheep-fold. When the aſſembly of the People was not held in the field of Mars, but in a place where there was not conveniency for this *ovile*, the want of it was ſupplied with cords, that formed a kind of encloſure, into which each century or tribe was made to file off. At the entrance of the bridge ſtood thoſe who diſtributed the ballots, from whom each as he paſſed received ſuch as ſuited the affair in queſtion; after which every one went and threw that which he thought fit into the urn or baſket; for both were uſed for receiving the ballots. They were placed at the entrance of this encloſure, and near them per-

Cuilibet hic faſces dabit, eripietque curule,
Cui volet importunus, ebur; frater, pater, adde
Ut cuique eſt ætas; ita quemque facetus adopta.
Hor. L. I. Ep. 6.

If ſhew and favour happineſs create,
Let us put in for offices of ſtate;
Buy us a ſlave, to jog us on the ſide,
To tell us each man's name, his rank, his pride.
" *Extend yonr pinion'd arm, Sir, if you can,*
" *And ſeize his hand: You do not know your man:*
" *The Fabian tribe is his, the Velian too;*
" *In Rome there's nothing that he cannot do;*
" *Confer the Faſces, or the Curule chair,*
" *Or whom he does not like, of both debar.*
" *According to their years, ſome fathers call,*
" *Some brothers; courteouſly adopt them all.*"

ſons of diſtinguiſhed probity, who were appointed to take care that nothing paſſed contrary to the rules. After the votes of one century or tribe were taken in this manner, the reſt did the ſame, till there was a ſufficient number of ſuffrages to determine the affair.

When it was the election to ſome dignity, after having found which of the candidates had the majority of voices, the magiſtrate who preſided in the aſſembly, declared him elected with a loud voice, and he was conducted home to his houſe in pomp. If at the time when the People were aſſembled for the election of magiſtrates, a tempeſt aroſe, they broke up, but leſs upon account of the badneſs of the weather, than through a ſpirit of ſuperſtition, which made them conſider that bad weather, as a ſign, that the preſent aſſembly was not agreeable to the Gods, and it was adjourned to another day. But however if the magiſtrate were elected before it began, his election ſtood. No magiſtracy of the Commonwealth could be attained till after having ſerved ten years in the Roman armies. For which reaſon none were admitted into office till twenty-ſeven; the age for liſting into the Roman legions beginning at ſeventeen. There were however ſome in reſpect to whom this law was diſpenſed with, as Scipio Africanus, Pompey and Auguſtus, upon whom the great dignities of the Commonwealth were conferred, before they were of the age required, and without having previouſly paſſed through the other offices: for the higheſt were generally attained only by degrees; and if a perſon's father was a priſoner of war amongſt the enemy, he could not be raiſed to any magiſtracy during his continuing ſo.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XI.

I. *Of the two different kinds of magiſtrates.* II. *Curule magiſtrates.* III. *Magiſtrates of the colonies.* IV. *Right of* Latium, *or of the Latins.* V. *Magiſtrates of the municipal cities.*

I. *Of the two different kinds of magiſtrates.*

WE have already obſerved, that the magiſtrates of Rome were diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, the great and the inferior. The great were thoſe called *Curule*, becauſe they had an ivory chair by way of diſtinction, which they could cauſe to be carried wherever they went. Theſe chairs were very high, having ſeveral ſteps at bottom. Only the Conſuls, Prætors, Cenſors, and Curule Ædiles, enjoyed this mark of honour in Rome, with Lictors, who walked before them in the city, to make way for them. When the magiſtrates of different orders met in the ſtreets, the Lictors of the inferior magiſtrate were obliged to bow their *faſces* by way of reſpect for the ſuperior. A law was even made in the 299th year of Rome, by which every magiſtrate was permitted to lay a fine upon ſuch as ſhould fail in reſpect for their dignity; a privilege before peculiar to the Conſuls. To prevent this law from being abuſed by carrying the fine too high, it was ordained that it ſhould not exceed two oxen and thirty ſheep, which were paid at that time in kind. Afterwards, to obviate an inconvenience that attended it, becauſe theſe cattle were ſometimes of a greater, and ſometimes of a leſs price, according to the goodneſs of thoſe delivered, the law *Aſteria* was made, by which it

II. *Curule magiſtrates.*

Dio. Hal. l. 8. c. 6.

Liv. l. 2. Dio. Hal. l. 10. c. 11.

it was regulated, that ten *asses* should be paid for each sheep, and an hundred for each ox; which proves that before this law, these fines were paid in cattle.

When these magistrates caused the * images of their ancestors to be carried in procession in certain ceremonies, it was an evidence of their nobility: but if only their own was seen, they were distinguished by the name of *novi homines*, new men.

The inferior magistrates had not these marks of honour: however those sent into the provinces enjoyed them in their government, but not at Rome. The cities of the Roman colonies, in imitation of Rome, had a particular Senate, and magistrates of their own; with the freedom of Rome in right of origin. They were sent from time to time to settle on the frontiers, and in the provinces newly conquered, in effect of the Roman policy, which took that method for ridding Rome of an indigent and seditious populace, and to reward the old soldiers. The Commonwealth caused part of the lands of those conquests to be distributed amongst them; but they were not permitted to sell them, till after a possession of twenty years. She also used this method for repeopling cities ruined by wars, and to keep the new subjects in awe. For with their aid, and the armies which she always kept upon the frontiers, she had no occa-

III. *Magistrates of the colonies*

Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 2.

Id. l. 3.

* ——Funus & imagines
Ducant triumphales tuum *Hor.* Epod. 8.
——— *And let triumphal statues grace*
Thy funeral.
Hos ante effigies majorum pone tuorum.
Juv. Sat. VIII.
——————*Place these*
Before thy great forefathers images.

sion

ſion to garriſon places. But as to the municipal cities, though they had the ſame privileges, they had them only by the conceſſion of the Commonwealth; and it was for that very reaſon they were called *Municipal*, with the freedom of Rome. They had alſo the liberty of living according to their own laws and cuſtoms, and ſhared in the dignities, as well as the colonies, and conſequently in the government of the Commonwealth. The caſe was not the ſame with ſuch people, as had only the quality of allies: for though they contributed to the expences of the Commonwealth, in paying the taxes which ſhe impoſed upon them, and in ſupplying the number of troops, as well horſe as foot, that ſhe preſcribed, they had however no ſhare in the government, and could only be conſidered as her ſubjects. She had nevertheleſs granted them peculiar privileges.

The firſt allies of the Commonwealth were the Latines, to whom, by the treaty of alliance, which ſhe made with them about the year 261, ſhe granted the right of being admitted to give their ſuffrages in the aſſemblies at Rome, when the magiſtrate who preſided in them, ſhould ſummon them thither, and there was no oppoſition on the ſide of his Collegues; clauſes, which rendered that right almoſt inſignificant, as if granted rather by way of honour, than with the view of really taking place. Accordingly they were ſeldom called in to give their ſuffrages, except in times of diviſion. A more real grace was the freedom of Rome, which devolved to their principal magiſtrate on the expiration of his office: for the ſtates of Latium, before all of them were Roman citizens, which right was granted them in proceſs of time, had retained

Liv. l. 2. Dio. Hal. l. 8.

IV. *Right of Latium or of the Latines.*

Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 2.

retained the liberty of electing one of their own citizens by plurality of voices, to govern them according to their peculiar laws under the title of *Prætor*. And this was called the right of Latium, or of the allies of the Commonwealth. She did not usually grant this privilege except to people, who had either voluntarily submitted to her sway, or who, after having only experienced some first efforts of her arms, were not the last to submit; in which cases she left them at liberty to live according to their own laws and customs. She did not act in the same manner with those, who had either deferred submitting to her power to the last extremity, or had been entirely subjected. She reduced them into provinces, into which a governor, under the title of Proconsul, Prætor or Proprætor, was annually sent from Rome, to govern and administer justice to them according to the Roman laws; and with him a Quæstor to levy the tributes.

V. *Magistrates of the municipal cities.*

The municipal cities had municipal *Decuriones*, who formed a little Senate in each city, which in process of time, after the example of Rome, had two magistrates, who served it instead of Consuls, and exercised the same functions. They were called *Duumviri* from their number two, and were elected by the Decuriones out of their own body. These Decurions were called in Latin *Honorati Municipiorum Senatores*. To be qualified for this dignity, it was necessary to be five and twenty years old, and to have an estate of about an hundred and fifty pounds a year. They passed ordinances, which were called *Decreta Decurionum*, and took care of all that concerned the good of their city, and the revenues of the Commonwealth. The colonies and municipal cites had also their Censors,

Senec. Ep. 95.

ſors, who took the *Cenſus* as at Rome, receiving from thoſe of that city the form to be obſerved in taking it, and rendering them an account of their conduct.

All theſe petty provincial magiſtrates very much affected to copy thoſe of Rome, in what related to marks of diſtinction. Horace * has ſet the ridicule of one of them in a good light in his fifth ſatire, in deſcribing the pomp of a ſimple regiſter of the city of Fundi upon the way to Naples, who in walking through the city cauſed a veſſel full of burning charcoal to be carried before him, an honour peculiar to the great magiſtrates.

* Fundos Aufidio Luſco prætore libenter
Linquimus, inſani ridentes præmia ſcribæ,
Prætextam, & Latum clavum, prunæque batillum.
Hor. L. I. Sat. v.

At little Fundi we refus'd to bait,
But laugh'd at proud Aufidius' pomp and ſtate;
A ſcriv'ner lately, now with mace and gown
He huffs, and vainly lords it o'er the town.
Creech.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XII.

I. *Maxims of ſtate under the Emperors.* II. *Change in the offices.* III. *Præfect of the Treaſury.* IV. Præfectus Prætorio. V. *Roman magiſtrates both of the Sword and Robe.* VI. *Of the name of Emperor.* VII. *The Empire become elective.* VIII. *Manner of acknowledging the new Emperors.* IX. *Diviſion of the Empire.* X. *Diadem uſed by the Emperors.*

I. *Maxims of ſtate under the Emperors.*

THE change, which was made in the government when the power of the Emperors took place of the Commonwealth, induced a conſiderable one in the maxims which had prevailed till then. The Commonwealth had judged war advantagious; the Emperors on the contrary preferred peace. It alſo very much affected the great offices of the State, moſt of which loſt their principal authority: ſome of them were entirely ſuppreſſed, and the Emperors aſſumed others to themſelves, to render themſelves more abſolute; as thoſe of Great Pontiff, and Tribune of the People. The Reſcripts of the Emperors took the place of the *Plebiſcita* or Ordinances of the People, and had even the force of laws, till the Emperor Macrinus, who perceiving the abuſe there was in placing theſe reſcripts in the number of laws, aboliſhed the uſe of them. Other charges only changed their names; as in the inſtance of the the governors of the provinces of which Auguſtus reſerved the particular adminiſtration to himſelf, who were called *Præfects*, though before that name was ſolely given to the governors of Italy: but Auguſtus judged that alteration

II. *Change of the offices.* Tac. l. 1. Dion. Caſſ. l. 53. J. Capit. in vit. Macrin.

tion proper, in order to diſtinguiſh the governors of his nomination, from thoſe he had left to that of the Senate. He created a governor of Rome under the name of Præfect, who was no longer annual as before; and he allotted him the ſame enſigns of honour, with the cognizance of many affairs, of which part had formerly appertained to the Prætors. Suet. in vit. Aug.

The Emperors aſſumed to themſelves not only the nomination of Conſuls, who before were elected by the People, but alſo that of the Governors of the principal provinces, and of the Generals of the armies; which in the time of the Commonwealth belonged to the Senate. But Auguſtus, to leave a phantom of the Republic, and inſenſibly accuſtom the Roman People to obey him, ſuffered them to aſſemble for the election of magiſtrates; but they could nominate only thoſe whom that Prince propoſed. After his death the Aſſemblies were entirely aboliſhed; the * People having no longer any ſhare either in the government, or the Dio Caſſ. l. 54.

* ——— ——— Jampridem, ex quo ſuffragia nulli
Vendimus, effugit curas. Nam qui dabat olim
Imperium, faſces, legiones, omnia, nunc ſe
Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem & Circenſes. *Juv.* Sat. X. v. 77.

But long, long ſince the times have chang'd their face,
The people grown degenerate and baſe;
Not ſuffer'd now the freedom of their choice
To make their magiſtrates, and ſell their voice.
Our wiſe forefathers, great by ſea and land,
Had once the pow'r and abſolute command;
All offices of truſt themſelves diſpos'd;
Rais'd whom they pleas'd, and whom they pleas'd depos'd.
But we, who give our native rights away,
And our enſlav'd poſterity betray,
Are now reduc'd to beg an alms, and go
On holidays to ſee a puppet-ſhow. Dryden.

election

III. election of magistrates. Augustus gave also
Præfect of the Treasury. the name of Præfects to those who had the keeping of the public money, and who were called Tribunes before: they were much the same as the officers called in France, *Gardes du tresor Royal.* He also called those whom he instituted to take care of the provisions and markets Præfects, as he did the person whom he charged with the distributions made to the People, those who served in the army as Tribunes of the horse, and him who had the care of the encampments and fortifications. There was also a Præfect of the legions in the absence of the General. In a word, this name became common to so many officers, that they could not be distinguished, except by their different functions. But none of these offices did so much

IV. honour to this name, as that of the *Præfectus*
Præfectus Prætorio. *Prætorio*, created by Augustus; for so the commander of the Emperor's guards was called. At first none were chosen to fill this place, except out of the order of the Knights; but after the Emperor Macrinus, who had been invested with it himself before he attained the Empire, the Senators and persons of Consular dignity thought it an honour to possess it: and from thenceforth the power of that Præfect augmented in such a manner, that he became the second person of the Empire. This charge was not

Dio. Cass. l. 5. single at its beginning. Augustus created two of these officers, and there were three of them under several Emperors; at which time their authority was not so extensive as it was afterwards: for it was confined to the decision of the differences that arose amongst the soldiery. But when it became a sole command, the person who possessed it was called in to try almost

all

all affairs, and became the principal magiſtrate for adminiſtering juſtice. Appeals lay from all other tribunals to his, from which there was none except to the Emperor. The title of Senator was annexed to this office, in order that he might have the title *Clariſſimus*, *moſt illuſtrious*, as well as them; and his juriſdiction extended over all the preſidents, or governors of provinces, and even over the finances: he could alſo make laws. To conclude, at the higheſt elevation of his power, he united in his own perſon the authority and functions of the Conſtable, Chancellor, and Surintendant of the finances, or Lord High Treaſurer of France. It was in theſe times, that this officer had vicars under him, whoſe juriſdiction extended over a certain extent of country called a *Dioceſe*, which contained ſeveral principal cities. He was appointed by the Emperor, who put a ſword and belt on him, which were the enſigns of his office. Herodian tells us, that Plautinus, *Præfectus Prætorio* to the Emperor Septimus Severus, never was ſeen without a ſword by his ſide. After that ceremony, this officer appeared in public, in a gilt chariot, drawn by four horſes abreaſt; and the herald, who went before, called him in the midſt of acclamations the Father of the Empire. However, this ceremony was not introduced till this charge was become the firſt of the Empire. It ſubſiſted till the Emperor Conſtantine, who aboliſhed it, and broke the Prætorian guards, for having taken part with the tyrant Maxentius. In his place he created four others, who were called alſo *Præfectus Prætorio*, to whom he aſſigned four different parts of the Empire, of which they were governors; but only in reſpect to the

Lampr. in vit. Alex. Sever.

Dio Caſſ. l. 6.

Herodian. l. 3.

administration of justice and the finances, without any command over the armies. The functions of general and magistrate had been hitherto united in the same persons: for we may have observed, that during the whole time of the Commonwealth, and afterwards under the Emperors, those who dispensed justice were at the same time both of the sword and the robe: most of the magistrates, who exercised the function of judges in the city, having a share, in virtue of their offices, in the command of the armies; and in the same manner, such as were sent into the provinces, administered justice, and commanded troops.

V. *Roman magistrates both of the sword and robe.*

The change of the government made way for new regulations. Augustus confined the liberty which the Nobility had of travelling wherever they pleased at discretion, only to Italy. He prohibited their going farther, and quitting it without a formal permission; which regulation was observed by his successors, lest the Nobility should enter into engagements with strangers, for exciting commotions in the Empire. Julius Cæsar, in re-instating monarchical government, did not assume the name, though he usurped all the authority, of King; well knowing how odious that name was to the Roman people. He contented himself with that of *Imperator*, *Emperor*, which had nothing new in it, having always been in honour during the Commonwealth: for it was the title with which the soldiers, in the first transports of their joy, saluted their general, immediately after a considerable victory: and this custom was observed not only under Augustus and Tiberius, but long after their time. For at the taking of Jerusalem, the army in their acclamations saluted Titus, in the

Dio Cass. l. 52.

VI. *Of the name of Emperor.*

the life of his father Veſpaſian, with the ſame title. Trajan was honoured with it near Cteſiphon for his conqueſts over the Parthians. Marcus Aurelius received the ſame honour eight times after his victories over the Dacians. To expreſs the dignity, the cuſtom was to place the word Emperor before the name of the Prince, and in expreſſing his victories, the name of the perſon was placed before the title *Imperator*. Appian obſerves, that in his time, that is to ſay in the reign of Trajan, the army did not decree the title of *Imperator* to the general, unleſs ten thouſand of the enemy had been left on the field of battle. The Princes did not aſſume this name merely out of honour, but becauſe it expreſſed their ſovereign power, being derived from the word *imperare*, to command.

Dio Caſſ. l. 60.

Appian de bell. civ. l. 2.

Dio Caſſ. l. 42.

The Empire became elective after the death of Caligula; for the ſoldiers of the Prætorian guard proclaimed Claudius Emperor; though the children of the Emperors, or thoſe they adopted, generally ſucceeded them. It was not preciſely by right of ſucceſſion, but becauſe the Emperors had either aſſociated them in the Empire during their lives, or created them Cæſars, that is to ſay their ſucceſſors elect, with the conſent of the armies, who having force in their hands, had uſurped the right of election from the Senate. It was for this reaſon, that the Senate always approved the choice of the armies, not finding itſelf ſtrong enough to oppoſe it: for when they undertook to elect an Emperor, the armies never failed to nominate another out of jealouſy, whom they ſupported by force of arms. It even often happened, that each army having elected one amongſt themſelves, thoſe different Emperors decided

VII. *The Empire become elective.*

Eutrop. l. 9.

Suet. in vit. Othon. & Vitell.

decided their competition by arms, and always at the expence of the forces of the Empire, to its very great prejudice.

Herod. l. 2. The choice made by the armies fell always upon ſome of their leaders, whoſe bravery they had experienced; warriors being more apt to regard that quality, which ſtrikes them moſt, than birth and political abilities. The Empire in conſequence fell often into the hands of mere Eutrop. l. 8 & 9. Herod. l. 6. ſoldiers of fortune, who having paſſed through all the degrees of military life, were elected by their companions with no other merit, except that of ſavage valour. That was not the caſe when the Senate interfered in the election: it had leſs attention to valour than the qualities in general that ſuit a Prince; as appeared after Aurelian had been aſſaſſinated in the midſt of Vopiſc. in vit. Aurel. Herod. l. 5. his troops. The army highly regretting the fate of that Emperor, would not take the election upon themſelves, as they had done till then; apprehending that their choice might fall upon ſome one of thoſe who had been guilty of that Prince's death; and therefore they wrote to the Senate to elect an Emperor. But the Senate, having often experienced, that thoſe whom it nominated were not agreeable to the ſoldiers, would not expoſe themſelves to making a choice which ſhould be rejected, and referred the nomination back to the army, who again inſiſted, that the Senate ſhould charge themſelves with it. The latter perſiſting in their refuſal, an *interregnum* of ſix months enſued during theſe conteſts, all which time the Senate governed without any rebellion; and at length, acquieſcing in the inſtances of the army, they nominated Tacitus, one of their own body. That wiſe Emperor had Vopiſc. in vit. Tacit. however no better fate, but from different motives

tives than his predeceſſors Maximus and Balbinus, who were killed by the ſoldiers, out of hatred for their having been raiſed to the Empire by the Senate, and not by the armies. Herod. l. 8.

VIII. *Manner of acknowledging the new Emperors.* Herod. l. 1. Tacit. l. 12.

The Emperors immediately after their election, ſent their images to Rome, and to the armies, in order to their being placed amongſt the military enſigns. This was the uſual manner of acknowledging new Princes. After having denounced their election in this manner, they did not fail to beſtow largeſſes upon the troops, who were made to file off, in order for each ſoldier to receive his ſhare of that diſtribution: at which time, to do honour to the new Emperor, and expreſs their joy, they wore wreaths of lawrel on their heads. Claudius was the firſt who gave money to the troops. In gratitude to the Prætorian ſoldiers who had elected him Emperor, and taken the oath of fidelity to him, he promiſed each of them fifteen ſeſterces: it was alſo cuſtomary to make largeſſes to the People on their arrival at Rome. The Senate, immediately after the election of the Emperor, gave the title of Auguſt to his wife and daughters. Amongſt the marks of honour attached to the perſons of the Emperors and Empreſſes, one of the principal was to have fire carried before them in a veſſel, and the *faſces* ſurrounded with lawrels, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the principal magiſtrates. Before Marcus Aurelius, who aſſociated his ſon-in-law Ælius Verus in the Empire, Rome had never ſeen two Auguſtus's. This example became common afterwards, and even ſeemed neceſſary at certain times, on account of the great extent of the Empire: but their power was undivided. Diocleſian however, in taking a collegue, judged it

Suet. in vit. Claud.

Spartian. l. 1. Herod. l. 5.

Herod. l. 1, 2, & 7.

IX. *Partition of the Empire.*

it proper also to introduce a partition of authority; and the same was done even in respect to the Cæsars, to whom the like jurisdiction was assigned: but they were always subordinate to the Augustus's, who nominated their principal officers, and did not wear the diadem, which was reserved solely to the Emperors, from Diocleſian's introducing the use of it, who was the first of them that assumed it. Upon certain occasions, public feasts were made at Rome in honour of the Emperors, as after some great exploit, the Prince's having been sick by way of rejoicing for his recovery, or his return from some expedition, journey, or voyage: but afterwards, flattery made these feasts very common. Tertullian, in his Apologetic, tells us in what manner these rejoicings were made. Debauch and excesses were practised publicly; fires were lighted in the streets, and lamps before the houses where tables were spread: wine * was spilt in

X. *Diadem used by the Emperors.*

* Condit quisque diem collibus in suis,
Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores.
Hinc ad vina redit lætus, & alteris
Te mensis adhibet Deum:
Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
Defuso pateris; & Laribus tuum
Miscet nomen, uti Græcia Castoris
Et magni memor Herculis.
Longas ô utinam, dux bone, ferias
Præstes Hesperiæ, dicimus integro
Sicci mane die: dicimus uvidi
Cum sol oceano subest. *Hor.* L. IV. Od. v.

On his own hills each sees the setting sun;
To widow'd elms each weds his am'rous vine:
And chearful when his pleasing toils are done,
He calls on thee, and ev'ry glass is thine.
With endless prayers the flowing wine we pour
To thee, great author of our joy and peace;
In thy lov'd name each ear delighting more,
Than Greece in Castor's or in Hercules'.

Long

in profuſion for libations in honour of the Emperor's genius, or to the Gods for his proſperity. Private perſons adorned their doors with * laurel and other boughs, which was a ſign of rejoicing amongſt the Romans: we have already obſerved, that this was the cuſtom on the day of marriage.

Long may'ſt thou live, Heſperia's darling care,
Long give her feaſts, long be her bleſt delight!
This is our gen'ral ſober morning pray'r,
And theſe our conſtant drunken vows at night.

* ——————Nectę coronam
Poſtibus, & denſos per limina tende corymbos.
Unus Iberinæ vir ſufficit? Ocyùs illud
Extorquebis, ut hæc oculo contenta ſit uno.
Juv. Sat. VI.

With ivy now adorn thy doors, and wed:
Such is thy bride, and ſuch thy genial bed.
Think'ſt thou one man is for one woman meant?
She ſooner with one eye would be content. Dryden.
Ornentur poſtes & grandi janua lauro. *Ibid.*
And with abundant laurels deck thy door.

BOOK THE THIRD.

Of the revenues of the Romans; the forces of the State; and of war, with all relating to it.

CHAPTER I.

I. *Of coins.* II. *Diminution of the weight of the ſpecies.* III. *Public treaſury.* IV. *Silver money.* V. *Mixture and alteration of coins.* VI. *Great* Seſtertium. VII. *Manner of reckoning ſums.* VIII. *Of the talent.*

THE augmentation of the power of Rome, and the revolutions that happened in the government, made way for changes which it is neceſſary to relate. I am now to ſpeak of the forces and revenues of the Romans, and in order to give a more diſtinct idea of them, it is neceſſary to go back to the weak beginnings of Rome, when both muſt have been very ſmall. But firſt it is proper to know of what kind her money was.

I. *Of coins.* The poverty of the firſt Romans did not ſuffer them to coin any; they were almoſt two centuries without ſpecies, making uſe of copper in lumps, which they paid by weight. Numa, their ſecond King, for the better conveniency, cauſed

caused copper to be cut grossly into pieces of a pound consisting of twelve ounces, without any mark. They were called from that rude form, *as rudis*, and served instead of money. Their sixth King Servius Tullius changed this gross form, and for the first time caused round pieces of the same weight and value to be made, with the impression of an ox upon them. These were called *as libralis* and *libella*, because they weighed a pound. Letters were also added to them, to express their weight and value, which last was also in proportion to the first. The heaviest of all was the *Decussis*, which weighed, and was worth, ten *asses*; from whence it was called *Denarius:* it had an X upon it to signify its value. The *Quadrussis* was worth four; the *Trecussis* three; and the *Sestertius* one and an half. The last was always the fourth part of a *Denarius*, notwithstanding all the changes that were made in their coins; and to express its value, it was marked with two great I's with a cross stroke in the midst, and an S after them in this manner HS. The *Dupondius* was worth two *asses*, as the two points upon it signified. The *as* was also sub-divided into small parts, of which the names are as follow.

Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

Ibid.

The *Deunx* weighed eleven ounces.
The *Dextans*, ten.
The *Dodrans*, nine.
The *Bes*, eight.
The *Septunx*, seven.
The *Semissis*, which was the half pound, six.
The *Quintunx*, five.
The *Triens*, which was the third part of an *as*, four.
The *Quadrans*, or fourth part, three.
The *Sextans*, or sixth part, two:

And

And *Uncia*, the ounce.

II. *Diminution of the weight of the species.* Plin. l. 93. c. 3.

In the first Punic war, the necessities of the Commonwealth were so great, that she was obliged to reduce the *as* from twelve to the weight of two ounces, and all the rest in proportion, though their value was continued the same. Soon after, that is to say, in the second Punic war, it was again reduced to one half in value; that is to say to one ounce, and all other species in proportion. Most of these *asses* of the weight of one ounce had the double head of a *Janus* on one side, and the prow of a ship on the other. In a word, the species, though of brass, were so little common in the beginning of the republic, that, as we have said elsewhere, the fine for failing in respect to the magistrates was paid at first in cattle. This scarcity of the species occasioned the custom of giving brass by weight in payment to subsist a great while, as Livy relates, that in the 347th year of Rome, the Senate having laid a tax upon the public for supporting the expences of the war, caused their own proportion in the gross to be carried in waggons to the treasury, which was called *Ærarium* from the word *æs æris*, brass, because there were no coins of gold or silver at Rome.

Ibid. Plut. Quæst. Rom. 41.

Liv. l. 4.

III. *Public treasury.*

IV. *Silver money.* Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

It was not till the 485th year of Rome, that silver money was first coined there, which they named according to the species of copper, so that the silver *Denarius* was worth ten copper asses, the silver *Sestertius* two and an half, or the fourth of the *Denarius*, and the rest in proportion. These first silver *denarii* weighed an ounce, and the impression on them was either a woman's head with an helmet on it, to represent the city of Rome, or a Victory leading a chariot with two or four horses a-breast, which occasioned

occaſioned theſe pieces to be called *bigati*, or *quadrigati*, and on the reverſe the figure of Caſtor and Pollux. Sixty-two years after they had firſt coined ſilver ſpecies, that is to ſay about the 547th year of Rome, they began to coin gold alſo, which was called *nummus aureus*, or gold *denarius*, becauſe it was worth ten of ſilver, which was the moſt uſual proportion obſerved by the Romans between the value of gold and ſilver. Smaller pieces of gold were coined under the Emperors with their heads on them. The *nummus aureus*, or gold *denarius*, was at firſt the fortieth part of the pound of twelve ounces; each *denarius* of gold weighing near two drachmas and an half, and eight drachmas making an ounce. But afterwards, the value of money having changed from time to time, the ſilver *denarius* was reduced to the proportion of fifteen to the pound of twelve ounces, It was in that proportion under Julius Cæſar; but afterwards it came to that of twenty-four, thirty-ſix, and forty. The *denarius* of gold continued at the proportion of forty to the pound, and was always worth ten ſilver *denarii*, as the latter were ten *aſſes* of braſs. That of ſilver was at length reduced to fourſcore and ſixteen to the pound, or the weight of one *drachma*; from whence, in ſeveral places of the Roman hiſtory, the one is uſed for the other. The pieces of gold in time were not ſo heavy: they were reduced to the proportion of forty-five, fifty, and fifty-five, to the pound. It it next to impoſſible to follow all the variations of this kind, which were very frequent under the Emperors; ſome of them making their weight more, and ſome much leſs. Heliogabalus cauſed the weight of all the gold ſpecies to be augmented, in order

Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

Ibid. Suet in Vitell.

to increaſe certain duties paid in them. Alexander Severus, who had more goodneſs for the People, reduced thoſe taxations, and cauſed thirds, and halves of thoſe ſpecies to be coined. Heliogabalus had cauſed them to be made of ſo extraordinary a weight, that ſome were full two pounds. It is obſerved, that to prevent coiners from counterfeiting the ſpecies, the Romans under the Emperors coined ſome indented, or in a manner carved, all round the edges, which ſerved inſtead of the ring uſed by the moderns on their money.

Lampr. in vit. Alex. Sever.

V. *Mixture and alteration of coins.* Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

Their coins were not always either entirely ſilver or pure gold: from the time of the Commonwealth we find that they ſometimes mingled braſs with ſilver. The Emperor Alexander Severus cauſed gold to be coined, of which one fifth was ſilver: this mixture was called *electrum*. Julius Cæſar was the firſt, who, by decree of the Senate, cauſed his head to be ſtamped on the coins. About the 225th year of the Chriſtian Æra, pieces of gold were coined of ſeventy two to the pound. Many of the Emperors cauſed gold and ſilver ſpecies to be minted with their names upon them, as the *Philippi*, *Antonini*, and others. Some cauſed the heads of their Empreſſes alſo to be ſtamped upon them. Conſtantine following this example, cauſed pieces of gold to be coined with his mother's head upon them: and after he had embraced the Chriſtian religion, he ordered that a croſs ſhould be ſtamped on all the money that was made.

VI. *Great Seſtertium.*

The great *Seſtertium* in the neuter, was only a term of computation, ſignifying a thouſand ſmall *Seſtertii*, or two hundred and fifty Roman *Denarii*.

All

All the authors, who ſpeak of the Roman coins, do not agree about them. For though ten to one be the moſt received opinion concerning the proportion of gold to ſilver, we find however that it varied. The manner of computing amongſt the Romans was either by *Seſterces* or *Aſſes*. They uſed alſo the term talent, in imitation of the Greeks, which was peculiar to the latter, and conſidered it ſometimes as weight, and ſometimes as a ſum. As weight it was 125 pounds, as money it was reckoned upon the ſame foot as amongſt the Greeks, with whom it was valued at ſixty *minæ*, or ſix thouſand *drachmas*. There were four places in Rome where money was coined, of which each had its peculiar mark to diſtinguiſh its ſpecies.

VII. *Manner of reckoning ſums.*

VIII. *Of the talent.*

It is obſerved, that money was as plenty in Italy under Tiberius, as it can be at preſent in any part of Europe whatſoever: but that in proceſs of time the luxury of the Romans occaſioned the gold and ſilver to be carried back into the foreign countries, from whence their victorious arms had brought them.

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

I. *Of the revenues of the State.* II. *Of the taxes paid by the Commonwealth.* III. *Of colonies.* IV. *Public magazines.* V. *Of journies by order of the court.* VI. *Of the rapine and oppreſſion of governors.* VII. *Procurators of the Emperor.* VIII. *Treaſury of the Emperors.*

AFTER having given an idea of the coins, which ſhews the times when the Commonwealth was more or leſs opulent, I proceed to the revenues of the State. The firſt Kings of Rome, beſides their private eſtate, had only the product of a capitation-tax, which was the ſame to rich and poor, and a duty raiſed upon proviſions carried to market, and principally upon roots and herbs, which was the moſt uſual food of thoſe early times: but that duty was aboliſhed at the birth of the Commonwealth. This revenue was augmented by the ſalt-works, which the King Ancus Marcius cauſed to be made near Oſtia. We have ſeen that after the inſtitution of the *Cenſus*, the children, orphans, and poor citizens of the laſt claſs payed no tax, and that the laſt were exempt from ſerving in war upon account of their poverty; and the rather becauſe in thoſe times the troops received no pay, and were obliged to ſerve at their own expence. Afterwards, in the Cenſorſhip of Camillus, even orphans were obliged to pay the capitation. The Revenues of the Commonwealth augmented in proportion as ſhe made new conqueſts; for which reaſon it would be difficult to give a certain ſtate of them,

I. *Of the revenues of the State.* Dio. Hal. l. 4. Plin. l. 19. c. 4.

no

no author supplying us with sufficient lights upon that head. It is certain that gold and silver were far from being plenty at Rome, till she extended her conquests out of Italy; on the contrary, they appear to have been exceedingly scarce, as in the year 359 from its foundation, when Camillus, after the taking of the city of Veii, where he had vowed the tenth part of the booty to Apollo, was for having that present made into a gold cup, in order to its being sent to Delphi. There being no money in the treasury except copper or brass, the State was obliged, for discharging that vow, to have recourse to the Roman ladies, who voluntarily contributed their rings and ornaments of gold, and were reimbursed the value in copper money. But after the Commonwealth had extended her conquests beyond Italy, gold began to grow common, and the public treasure augmented in such a manner, that after Paulus Æmilius had conquered Macedonia in the 586th year of Rome, the Roman people were exempted from paying the annual taxes to the State, which found itself at that time sufficiently rich to dispence with them.

Liv. l. 1. & 5.

Plut. in Paul. Æmil.

Plutarch relates that Pompey caused a table to be carried in his triumph, on which was painted in large characters, that the revenues of the Commonwealth, before the conquests he had made, did not amount to more than five thousand * myriads, or fifty millions of drachmas, and that by his victories he had augmented them to eight thousand five hundred myriads, or fourscore and five millions of drachmas, which in English money is about two millions

In vit. Pompeii.

* *A myriad is ten thousand.*

one

one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. But as the Roman drachma actually weighed above one third more than is supposed in this computation, (which supposes a drachma ten sols, or half a French livre, though really fifteen pence and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a penny of their money) the whole amounted to a much larger sum. Many believe, and with much more probability, that this sum is to be taken only as the revenues paid to the Commonwealth by the principal cities of Asia, and not as her revenues in general. For adding together the tributes each of the different provinces paid in money under Augustus, there being several that paid in provisions, and reducing all those sums to their general value in Europe at this time, that Emperor will be found to have drawn from them about twenty millions sterling, which would make much too great an increase in the space of the seventy-six years, that elapsed between the triumph of Pompey celebrated in the 692d year of Rome, and the death of Augustus, which happened in the 768th. Thus the sum set down in Pompey's triumph, was only part of the revenues of the Commonwealth, that is to say, those of Asia.

II. *Of the taxes of the Commonwealth* Plut. in M. Caton.

The taxes of the Commonwealth were of a different sort; for besides the capitation, each person paid one in proportion to their whole estate, of which the estimation was made by the Censors. It is observed that Marcus Cato, during his Censorship, having found that the citizens carried luxury too far, he caused a very high estimate to be made of all their moveables, and decreed, that three *asses* should be paid for every thousand of their value. The tribute, which the Romans most commonly imposed upon

upon the provinces they had subjected, was the capitation; as Tacitus tells us, they did on the Gauls. Cicero in his Oration, *Pro lege Manilia*, mentions three kinds of imposts, which he calls *Portoria*, *Decumæ*, & *Scripturæ*. The first included the duties laid upon merchandise brought into the ports of Italy: the second was the tenth of the fruits of the earth, which was levied in kind on certain provinces; and the third was the rents paid by those who held the conquered lands, which had been annexed to the domains of the Commonwealth. To conceive the nature of the two last imposts, we must consider, that Rome from its beginning made it a maxim to annex part of the territories of the conquered people to her own, and to send colonies composed of her poorer citizens into them; which she did out of policy, to discharge the State, to enrich the Commonwealth and her citizens, and reduce the power of the People newly subjected to her obedience, and thereby deprive them of the means of revolting. Appianus Alexandrinus informs us, that the cultivated lands were either divided amongst the inhabitants of these colonies; sold for the benefit of the Commonwealth; or farmed out. The uncultivated lands were cried, and given to the first that would undertake to clear them; upon condition of paying annually the fifth part of the product of trees, and the tenth of corn, besides a tax upon great and small cattle. And these two species of revenue formed what they called *Decumæ* and *Scripturæ*. In this manner Rome at the same time found means to subsist her poorer citizens, whom she sent into the colonies, and not to ruin the natives of those countries entirely, who paying the above rents

Tacit l. 1.

III. *Of colonies.*

Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 2.

were permitted to cultivate their lands, and ſtill found enough for their ſupport. For in thoſe times the people of Italy were eſteemed to be very laborious; but the abuſe made afterwards of theſe regulations, became very pernicious to the State. The moſt powerful citizens under various pretexts appropriated moſt of theſe conquered lands, and either cauſed them to be adjudged to themſelves at little or no price, or took them under borrowed names paying the *Cenſus*. In this manner they deprived the poor citizens of them, to whom good policy had at firſt allotted them for their ſupport, which occaſioned frequent and great diviſions in the Commonwealth. They afterwards ſecured the poſſeſſion of them to themſelves by long preſcription, which ſerved them inſtead of a title; and to aggrandize themſelves, they added to them the lands of their neighbours, to whom poverty, and uſury paid for debts contracted for their ſubſiſtance, reduced to the neceſſity of ſelling them at ſuch prices as they could get. They often, even without waiting theſe extremities, deprived the unfortunate poor of lands contiguous to their own, and thereby augmented their eſtates to a vaſt extent. In order to improve them, they employed ſlaves, that the free citizens might not be obliged to quit the profeſſion of arms; ſo that the country was full of ſlaves, who multiplied the more, as they were not obliged to ſerve in war, whilſt very few of the Italian natives remained in it: and the few that did, being forced to be almoſt always with the army, and to pay conſiderable taxations, were reduced to great miſery. This diminiſhed the forces of the Commonwealth, which relied more upon the troops of the allies, compoſed

Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. 1.

Ibid.

ſolely of Italians, than upon others. To remedy theſe inconveniences, the Tribunes of the People paſſed a law, by which it was prohibited for any one perſon to have more than five hundred acres of land, one hundred great, and five hundred ſmall cattle: the overplus of what each poſſeſſed, according to this law, was to be equally diſtributed amongſt the poor citizens. This ſhews, that the firſt riches of the Romans conſiſted in lands, cattle, and ſlaves. Tiberius Gracchus being Tribune of the People, undertook to cauſe this law to be put in execution; which only excited greater troubles in the Commonwealth: for as often as the Tribunes of the People demanded the reſtitution of theſe lands, and the execution of the *Agrarian* law, by which the diſtribution of them for the ſubſiſtance of the poorer citizens had been ordained, diſcord aroſe between the People, and the Nobility who were in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of theſe lands. The riches of particulars began by theſe uſurpations; which uſury, and oppreſſing the provinces, rendered at length ſo prodigious as they became before the fall of the Commonwealth.

Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 1.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 2.

Beſides theſe impoſts, there was alſo the product of the gold, ſilver, and lead mines in Spain and elſewhere; and from the 397th year of Rome, the twentieth part of what ſlaves made free were worth. Under the Emperor Tiberius this was a twenty-fifth; one *per cent.* being then alſo paid for goods ſold voluntarily, and two for thoſe ſold by auction. Auguſtus exacted a twentieth of inheritances in the collateral line, and ordained that in the will of every perſon of fortune, there ſhould be a legacy for the Emperor; without which it could

Plin. l. 3. & 33. c. 3 & 4.

Tac. l. 13

Suet. in vit. Aug.

not be executed. This ordinance subsisted till the reign of Antoninus Pius, who abolished it. All these together formed a casual revenue, which amounted to very considerable sums, exclusively of the tributes of the provinces, and the duties which some of them paid in kind, as Sicily and Sardinia, upon which the tenth of all grain was levied. Cicero, as we have already observed, mentions this last tribute under the name of *Decumæ*. The other provinces, instead of a tenth, paid a twentieth or a fortieth of wheat and barley, and a twentieth of wine and bacon. After the Frisii were subjected to the empire, they were made to pay a certain quantity of ox-hides by way of tribute, which were applied to the use of the armies. There was also Fiscal or Revenue corn, so called, because it was a part of the demesns of the Commonwealth. This grain was carried to the public magazines, erected at Rome by way of precaution against scarcity, and to perpetuate plenty in it. The greatest part of it came from Africa, the coasts of Barbary, and Egypt. The hundredth part of the grain, and the two hundredth of the other fruits of the earth, were levied in Cappadocia. These tributes in kind served in consequence to fill the public magazines of Rome, and for the subsistance of the armies. Besides this a toll, or custom, was paid in some places by certain merchandizes, as well as in the ports of Italy. The salt, which the people were obliged to buy of those who farmed it, was also part of the revenues of the State. These were the usual imposts: but the Emperors sometimes exacted others; as that Vespasian laid upon Urine, and many more. The journies and

Tac. l. 4.

IV. *Public magazines.*

Dio. Cass. l. 60.

and voyages undertaken by order of the court may be considered as another kind of taxation; for when the Emperor, his ministers, or the governors of provinces, caused any one to come from, or sent persons to, remote places, they gave such travellers an order to have their charges born, and carriages provided for them upon their route, which was done at the expences of the cities and places through which they passed. But the Emperor Adrian ordained, that for the future that expence should be defrayed out of the public treasury. Almost all these imposts were farmed out; so that there were farmers and their substitutes, who enriched themselves by making the most of, and extending, their power as far as possible, not to mention the enormous oppressions committed by the governors; as appears from Cicero's pleadings against Verres. The latter exacted from Sicily, of which he was governor, a thousand times an hundred thousand sesterces, over and above the customary tributes. These extortions were frequent enough about an hundred years before the end of the Commonwealth; from whence arose the immense riches of some particulars. When the younger Gracchus was Tribune of the People, he deprived the Senators of the right to take cognizance of the malversations and oppressions of the persons in office, and transferred it to the Equestrian order. Those things were become so common, that they were scarce regarded any longer as crimes; governors being almost sure of impunity, because their judges, as well as themselves, were the principal persons of the Commonwealth, who acted with great favour and reserve in respect to each other. The accusations in consequence,

V. *Of journies by order of the court.* Spart. in vit. Adri.

VI. *Rapine and oppression of governors.* Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 1. Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 13.

brought againſt them by the provinces, often either came to nothing, or were attended with infinite trouble and difficulty. The State however did not fail ſometimes to condemn thoſe public robbers to make heavy retributions; but always for the benefit of the Commonwealth, and not of the provinces they had plundered.

Tac. l. 3. c. 12.

VII. *Procurators of the Emperor.* Dio. Caſſ. l. 57.

Under the Emperors the governors could not enrich themſelves ſo eaſily at the expence of their provinces, being prevented by the officers called the Emperor's procurators, who had an eye upon their conduct, and whoſe functions were much the ſame as thoſe of the officers called in France *Intendans de province*. It is obſerved, that till the civil war between Marius and Sylla, the tributes laid upon the provinces were moderate enough, and that they had not experienced thoſe enormous extortions before, which they ſuffered immediately after from the governors. Cicero in his oration *Pro lege Manilia* ſhews, that they were alſo expoſed to the avarice of the generals of armies, who carried off whatever was moſt valuable and curious in the provinces, beſides exacting conſiderable ſums from them. But theſe were not the only evils they had to ſuffer. The civil wars of the Commonwealth expoſed them to the inſatiable avidity of the ſtrongeſt, who, under pretence that they had favoured their enemy, laid conſiderable fines upon them, to ſatisfy which they were often obliged to borrow money at intereſt; and that compleated their ruin, as happened to the provinces of Aſia minor, after the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius by Mark Antony. For the latter, who was naturally little humane, and very inſolent in proſperity, pretended, that they had taken part with

with his enemy, in order to fine them the value of nine years of the uſual tribute paid the Commonwealth; and as they were not able to raiſe it, the tax-farmers, who advanced the money, exacted ſuch uſury for it, as exceeded the capital, and reduced them to extreme miſery. The impoſts under the Emperors were either more or leſs, according to their characters: the good moderated, and the bad augmented, them: but the provinces of Italy were always the moſt ſpared.

All the ſums that aroſe from the impoſts, ſpoils, and conqueſts, gained by Rome from her enemies, were carried into the public treaſury. In the time of the Commonwealth, a twentieth part of them in gold, as they came in, was ſet aſide, and reſerved for times of urgent neceſſity. This became the cuſtom from the burning of Rome by the Gauls; which precaution ſeemed neceſſary at firſt for enabling her to defend herſelf againſt that warlike nation, that ſhe apprehended more than any other. The gold not coined, before it was carried into the treaſury, was melted into little ſquare bars, which were piled up one above another. Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 37. Plut. in vit. Pomp. Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

VIII. *Treaſury of the Emperors.*

Beſides the public treaſury, the Emperors had one peculiar to themſelves, which was their exchequer, and into which the money ariſing from confiſcations, fines, legacies, the preſents made them when they came to the empire, and at the time of their adoption, new-years gifts, and laſtly the *aurum coronarium*, which Italy, and the other provinces remitted from time to time, ſo called, becauſe that voluntary gift conſiſted at firſt in crowns of gold, which in proceſs of time was changed into a certain Tac. l. 5. Suet in vit. Veſp.

Spart. in vit. Adr.

quantity of gold. This gift was renewed at the election of every Emperor, on each adoption of a ſucceſſor, on the occaſion of his marriage, or the birth of his children, and ſometimes on his return from ſome voyage or enterprize. Their exchequer was more or leſs conſiderable, as the Emperors were more or leſs avaricious, who did not want means for augmenting it, though they were alſo maſters of the public treaſury whenever they thought fit.

This particular detail of the revenues of the Roman People may ſerve to give us ſome idea of their forces: however as different writers have given us ſufficiently circumſtantial accounts of them, it will not be improper to repeat them to the reader,

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

I. *Of the forces of the State.* II. *Of its naval forces.* III. *Of the manner of fighting at ſea.* IV. *Manner of making the levies.* V. *Of the Roman legions.* VI. *Number of cohorts in a legion.* VII. *Of the enſigns of the legions.* VIII. *Honours paid the enſigns.*

I. *Of the forces of the State.*

THE forces of Romulus conſiſted at firſt of three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. He ſoon augmented them conſiderably, having increaſed his people from the neighbouring cities, whoſe inhabitants he incorporated with the Romans, as he ſubjected them; ſo that ſome time before his death, he took the field with twenty thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe. In the 260th year from the foundation of Rome, the Commonwealth had ten legions, each conſiſting of four thouſand men, which was the greateſt number of troops ſhe had ever ſet on foot. For in the beginning of the Commonwealth, they uſually conſiſted of four legions, of which each Conſul commanded two, without including the troops of the allies, who ſupplied as many. In the ſecond Punic war, ſhe had to the number of three and twenty legions on foot; and in Sylla's time forty-ſeven, though the legion at that time conſiſted of ſix thouſand men: but the greateſt number of all did not appear till the triumvirate of M. Antony, Octavius and Lepidus, when they amounted to ſixty-ſix. After Auguſtus had eſtabliſhed the peace of the empire,

forces of the State. Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 5. Plut. in vit. Rom.

pire, he kept only three and twenty legions on foot, which he distributed upon the frontiers. Tiberius had five and twenty, exclusively of the cohorts, which always remained at Rome for the security of the public, the nine Prætorian cohorts or the Emperors guards, and the auxiliary troops, which were equal in number to those of the State; for care was taken, that they should not exceed that of the legions. It was not till after Constantine, that this policy was disused; the Emperors having armies almost entirely composed of Barbarians, who did not a little contribute to the ruin of the empire. This rule was always followed in the time of the Consuls, but only in respect to the infantry; for it is observed, that at the battle of Cannæ, the auxiliary horse was twice as strong as that of the Romans. The Emperor Adrian kept thirty legions on foot, besides the auxiliaries, who were of the same number. Without reckoning the latter, he had two hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse, all Romans; three hundred elephants, and two thousand armed chariots, the whole kept up as well in peace as war, with magazines of all sorts of arms for three hundred thousand men.

Polyb. l. 6.

II. *Of the naval forces.*

As to sea-forces, we do not find that the Romans had any naval army, before the first Punic war, that is to say, about the 490th year of Rome. They however distinguished their ability and bravery as much by sea as land: for they were victorious in their first battle by sea with the Carthaginians, who were then the most expert of all nations in naval affairs. This first fleet was composed of an hundred and twenty galleys, of which an hundred were of five, and the rest of three, benches or tire of oars. Soon after

Liv. l. 1.

after in the ſame war they fitted out three hundred and thirty beaked galleys, each carrying three hundred rowers, and an hundred and twenty ſoldiers. By this account, which we have from Polybius, the bigneſs of thoſe veſſels may be judged. The citing of ſome facts will ſuffice to ſhew, what maritime forces they had. Pompey in the civil war had to the number of ſix hundred ſhips, either galleys or light barks. M. Antony, at the battle of Actium againſt Auguſtus, had a navy conſiſting of five hundred ſhips, amongſt which were ſome that had eight and ten tire of oars. After the civil wars, Auguſtus kept up three naval armies in Italy; the one at the port of Miſenum in the kingdom of Naples, another at Ravenna in the Adriatic gulph, and the third at Frejus on the coaſt of Provence. The Emperor Adrian had to the number of two thouſand light veſſels, and fifteen hundred ſhips or galleys from three to five benches of oars. All the ſhips of the Romans, fit for war, were a kind of galleys, or galeaſſes, becauſe they were worked with oars. Their form came nearer to that of a modern French galley, than of a ſhip; having all beaks of braſs, or bronze, as galleys have; for which reaſon the words, galleys and ſhips, when uſed by antient authors, may be conſidered as ſynonimous terms. Theſe ſhips of war were long, had but * one maſt like French galleys, and conſequently much leſs rigging

Liv. l. 1.

Tac. l. 4.

* ——— Tunc adverſis urgentibus illuc
Recidit, ut malum ferro ſummitteret. ———
Juv. Sat XII.
So fierce the ſtorm, neceſſity at laſt
Does loudly call to eaſe her of her maſt.
Dryd.

than

than modern ſhips. Though they had ſails, they were rather to be worked with oars, which accordingly were more commonly uſed. Some of them were open, that is to ſay without decks, and had only one row of oars on each ſide: theſe were called light-barks, becauſe much ſwifter than the reſt. Thoſe which had ſeveral decks, had alſo ſeveral benches, or tire of oars one above another, but chequer-wiſe, not to interfere with each other: however that is only conjecture, there being no certainty upon this head. The moſt common ſhips had two, three, four and five benches, for there were ſome that had ten, and even forty: but this was not amongſt the Romans, who were too wiſe to build ſuch veſſels, which from their extraordinary magnitude were of no other uſe, but to gratify a frivolous curioſity. Auguſtus uſed none in his naval armies, that had above three rows of oars; and probably, in proceſs of time, thoſe were diſcovered not to be ſo good, as ſuch as had only one; becauſe the latter were worked with more expedition, and leſs trouble. For the hiſtorian Zoſimus tells us, that the uſe of them was entirely diſcontinued, long before the reign of the Emperor Theodoſius the younger. We have nothing but very uncertain conjectures upon the manner of working a veſſel with three tire of oars, which being dipt in and raiſed out of the water all at the ſame time, muſt have claſhed, one would think, with each other. And it is ſtill leſs eaſy to conceive the manner of working ſuch, as had more benches of oars, as ten, twenty, and even forty. In ſhort, the moſt experienced in naval affairs of theſe days confeſs their ignorance upon this ſubject.

Each

Each ship had its peculiar name, as is still the custom. They had also their military ensigns and colours, and used trumpets, as land-forces, for instruments of war.

III. *Of the manner of fighting by sea.*

When they were to engage, they erected wooden towers on their decks, which were easily raised, and taken down after the action: from these they discharged stones and darts with advantage upon the enemy. They also made use of machines, as of the *balista*, a kind of great cross-bow, which were planted in several parts of the ship, and discharged stones of considerable size, and fire-darts. These last were great arrows, prepared with pitch and other combustible matter, which being lighted, set ships on fire. Their manner of fighting was either to take the vessel, they attacked, in flank, in order that the violent stroke of the beak might pierce and sink it, or by running alongside very near it to break the oars, or to grapple it with hooks and grapplings in order to board it. The sea-service was not in so much esteem amongst the Romans as the land-service: for which reason the freedmen were admitted into it, long before they were permitted to serve by land. The vessels of burthen, or merchant-ships, which were called *round*, because really not so long as the others, and had larger flanks, in order to contain the more goods, were worked also both with oars and sails: but the latter were most used, to avoid the charge of rowers, which would have rendered the crews more numerous, and consequently more expensive to traders. Polyb. l. 16. Ibid. l. 1.

As they had not the use of the compass, they steered in the night by the stars, and in the day by the coasts and islands which they knew, and which

which guided the pilots: for in the Mediterranean, that was the only sea then navigated, they could not be long without discovering some land; and they knew no other navigation upon the Ocean, except along the coasts. They had anchors for stopping ships, and the lead for sounding: but they were not sufficiently expert in navigation, to expose themselves to stormy weather. When they were surprized by a tempest, they made to land in order to run ashore; and did the same, when too closely pursued by an enemy of superior force. When the danger was over, they set the ship afloat again by strength of arms and leavers; which shews, that if the antients knew useful things in respect to the Arts, that are not come down to us, we have discovered others, which they had not, and which are no less useful. The Romans did not begin to be expert in naval affairs, till some time after they had extended their conquests out of Italy: for Appian observes, that they had very little skill, when they fought their first battle by sea with the army of Antiochus, commanded by Polixenides.

Appian. de Bell. Syr.

IV. *Manner of making the levies.* Polyb l. 6.

Either the Consuls or the Dictator generally made the levies of the troops. They appointed the day for listing, either by a decree fixed up, or by heralds, according to the necessity of the case. At the same time the standard of war was hoisted upon the top of the Capitol, which, during a great length of time, was the place where the levies were made, unless some opposition was apprehended from the Tribunes of the People, and then it was in the field of Mars, which being without the walls of the city, was not in the jurisdiction of those magistrates. In process of time the levies were usually made in the

the field of Mars: and when the Common- Tac. l. 4.
wealth had extended its conquests out of Italy, they were made by the Proconsuls, Prætors, and other principal officers in the provinces. All the young persons capable of bearing arms, were obliged to be present in the place, and on the day assigned, upon pain of a fine. To fail in this respect, was long criminal during the Commonwealth. There were however conjunctures, when it was dispenced with; as the funeral of a near relation, and certain religious ceremonies, at which the absent were obliged to assist. For none were exempt from serving in the armies, except such as had particular exemptions from the Senate, were lame, subject to the falling sickness, had not attained the age of seventeen, or were turned of forty-six; at which years those who were actually in the service might quit it. The priesthood were also dispenced with from serving: however neither they, nor those whose age exceeded the time prescribed were exempt, in case of a war with the Gauls, so terrible did that nation appear to the Romans. During a great length of time, Dion. Hal.
those, who were only entered by name in the l. 4. c. 5.
Census, because they had no fortunes, were not admitted into the Roman soldiery; and for the same reason they had no voice in the elections. These were the citizens of the sixth class: but Marius abolished this custom; and afterwards those whose whole fortunes were their arms, to use the expression of Valerius Maximus who Val. Max.
relates this circumstance, were received into the l. 2. c. 3.
troops. The officers, who made the levies, chose the soldiers; whence the legions were so called from the Latin word *legere*, *to* Polyb. l 6.
chuse, and the levy was called *delectus*, *choice*.

No

No soldier was admitted under the height of five Roman feet and ten inches, except in an extreme want of troops, which would not admit of chusing. It is observed, that the men of the first cohorts of each legion were not under six feet high, which amounts to about five feet, nine inches and an half, and almost $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch of our measure; the Roman foot being eleven inches and six hundred and four decimal parts of an inch English, and eleven inches French.

On the day fixed, the citizens of the age to bear arms assembled, either at the Capitol, or in the field of Mars, and the Consuls nominated the Tribunes of the legions. Those who were to command in the foot must have served ten years, and in the cavalry five. About the 390th year of Rome, the Consuls and generals were divested of the right of appointing the Tribunes of the legions, which the People assumed to themselves. If four legions were raised, the Tribunes nominated divided themselves into four equal bands, according to the order in which they were elected. Those who were first appointed were for the first legion, and so on with the rest. The Tribunes, after having drawn the tribe with which they were to begin by lot, sate down, and chose out of it four young men of much the same age and height, of whom each of the four legions had one. They went on in the same manner, till the four legions were compleated; in order that they might all be of equal force. Those who refused to give in their names for the service, were sentenced to be whipt; their estates were sold; and themselves considered as slaves. After having listed them in this manner, they were not deemed soldiers, till

Liv. l. 7. Polyb. l. 6.

Ibid.

till they had taken the military oath; which they were made to do the ſame inſtant. In order to that, the Tribunes of each legion choſe out a ſoldier, who repeated the oath aloud, of which the tenor was to promiſe to hazard his life for the Commonwealth, to obey his general, and not to quit the army without leave. In pronouncing it he held up his right hand and the thumb of the ſame hand; after which all the reſt of the ſoldiers of each legion declared, that they ſwore the ſame thing, but without repeating the form: and this was the general oath. The Tribunes made the ſoldiers, and all that followed the camp, take another ſomething particular: this was not to take any thing that was not their own, and to bring whatever they found to the Tribunes. Plutarch tells us, that amongſt the Romans thoſe who were in the army were not allowed to ſtrike or kill the enemy, if they had not taken the military oath, or had been diſmiſſed the ſervice by their officer. But to return to the legions: they were compoſed of infantry and cavalry, of which the number differed much at different times. For the legion at firſt conſiſted of only three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. Under the Conſuls it was four thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, at which number it long continued fixed. It was afterwards compoſed of more or leſs troops, according to the occaſions of the Commonwealth. It varied alſo under the Emperors. In the time of Auguſtus it conſiſted of ſix thouſand one hundred foot, and ſeven hundred and twenty-ſix horſe: under Tiberius, it was compoſed of ſix thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe: under the Emperor Septimus Severus, a phalanx or ſquare battalion of thirty thouſand men,

Polyb. l. 6.

Ibid.

Quæſt. Rom. 39.

V. *Of the Roman legions.*

Plut. in vit. Rom.

Polyb. l. 2. & 6.

consisting of six legions, was formed in imitation of the Macedonians; which shews that the legion then was only five thousand men: but under the succeeding Emperors, it became stronger. In consequence, to know the strength of the Roman armies, it does not suffice to reckon the number of the legions: but, upon what foot each legion was at that time, must also be found. Though the legions were called Roman, they were not all composed of citizens immediately inhabiting the city and territory of Rome, as had been the custom from the beginning, and even after the destruction of Carthage: but they also consisted of soldiers of all the cities of Italy, to which in succession of time the freedom of Rome had been granted.

VI. *Number of cohorts in a legion.* Polyb. l. 6.

The legion was composed of ten cohorts or regiments, strong in proportion to the legion. For if it consisted of only five thousand men, the cohort was but five hundred. These ten cohorts formed as many battalions, which drew up in three lines. Each cohort was composed of three *manipuli* or companies, divided into two Centuries, each of an hundred men, when the legion was six thousand strong. The Century was sub-divided into *Decuriæ* or tenths, because every ten men had a tent. However, Ælian shews, that we should not always understand the word *decuria* literally and only for ten; and that the *decuria*, which he also calls little maniple, was composed of more than ten soldiers. The same Ælian seems also to make the cohort consist only of two maniples, of more in number; which might be in his time, that is to say, under the Emperor Adrian. For the regulations of this kind were not always the same,

ſame, though the legion in all times conſiſted of ten cohorts.

As to the cavalry, it was above the infantry. It was the cuſtom in the beginning of the Commonwealth to chuſe the horſe laſt: but Polybius informs us, that in his time they were the firſt formed into companies. The Cenſors choſe ſuch as were richeſt to ſerve in the cavalry; and when they had no horſes, they might ſerve in the foot. The caſe was not the ſame with reſpect to the Knights, whom the Commonwealth ſupplied every year with a ſum of money to purchaſe and keep an horſe: becauſe in effect of the ſum they received, they were not deemed diſmounted at any time, and conſequently could not ſerve in the foot. The cavalry were called *alæ*, the wings, becauſe they always formed the wings of the legion. They were more or leſs ſtrong, in proportion to the ſtrength of the legions; of which, as each was compoſed of ten cohorts, ſo the cavalry were divided into ten *alæ*. The *alæ* were ſub-divided into companies of two and thirty men, and the companies again into *Decuriæ*. Polyb. l. 6. Ibid.

The legion was commanded by one of the Conſul's Lieutenants, or a Lieutenant-general, that had an officer under him called *Præfectus*, who acted as judge of that body of troops. Next to him were the great Tribunes, each of whom commanded two cohorts; and each cohort was under the command of an inferior Tribune, to whom it belonged, with the Præfect's authority, to cauſe ſuch of the ſoldiers of his cohort as had committed any fault to be puniſhed. The Præfect had alſo the care of the arms, horſes, cloaths, proviſions, and diſcipline, both of the cavalry and foot. Each maniple, Ibid.

or company, had at the head of it an officer called *Ducenarius*, becauſe he generally commanded two hundred men; as he who commanded a century, or an hundred men, was called a Centurion. The Tribunes elected their Centurions, and the latter their Lieutenants called *Succentu-*
Montfauc. Antiq. *riones* or *Optiones*. We find, that there were alſo *Sub-optiones*, or Sub-lieutenants. Polybius does not mention theſe *Succenturiones* or *Optiones*; but he ſays, that in each century there were two officers under the Centurions, who were called *Tergiductores*, becauſe their poſt was in the rear of the company, which is the ſame given to theſe *Optiones*; and that the officers were double, there being two Centurions to a century, of which one was as ſecond. But the latter was only a kind of Lieutenant, becauſe he had no ſhare in deliberations. Theſe ſecond officers were perhaps called *Succenturiones* and *Optiones* in proceſs of time. We ought not to be ſurprized, if authors do not always agree concerning theſe things, and if they ſometimes ſeem contrary to antient monuments. Cuſtoms were not always the ſame; and authors wrote either before or after thoſe monuments were erected; ſo that the ſilence of writers, or their contradictions to thoſe monuments, are not to be judged deciſive reaſons: the difference of times ought to be conſidered in ſuch caſes. Every
Polyb. l. 6. Centurion choſe two Standard-bearers, called *Vexillarii*, for his century; in order that the one might be ready to ſupply the place of the other. The ſtrongeſt and moſt couragious ſoldiers were choſen for this office. The Centurions formed the firſt rank of the firſt cohort of a legion, of whom two were called *Primi Haſtati*, as another Centurion was *Primus Princeps*, from being the

firſt

firſt of the ſecond line of the troops called *Principes*; and the firſt of the ſoldiers of the third line, called *Pilani*, was alſo a Centurion, who was termed *Primipilus*, and was alſo the principal Centurion of the whole legion. He was admitted into the councils of war, to which the Tribunes were ſummoned: he received orders from the General or the Tribunes, carried them after to others, and made the troops march or halt according to the orders he received. He conducted the eagle, had it in his keeping, and defended it in battle. When the army was to march, it was he who pulled that enſign up, and gave it to the Standard-bearer. All the Centurions carried long ſtaves of vine-branches in their hands, which they uſed for chaſtiſing the ſoldiers; and that was the mark of their office. Though Polybius tells us, that only the firſt Centurion of the firſt cohort carried a ſtaff of that kind, we find in other authors, that all the Centurions had the ſame diſtinction; which cuſtom was probably introduced after Polybius wrote. The Centurions roſe by degrees, ſo that the laſt Centurion of a legion might attain to be the firſt by right of ſeniority. As to the legions ſupplied by the allies, thoſe who commanded them were called Præfects, and were nominated by the Conſuls or Generals of the armies. Each legion had for its general enſign, an eagle with its wings extended, holding a thunderbolt in its talons. It was placed upon a ſmall pedeſtal of the ſame metal on the top of a pike. This figure was either of gold or ſilver, of the bigneſs of a pigeon. The officer that carried it was called the *Eagle-bearer*. This enſign, as we have juſt ſaid, was in the keeping of the firſt Centurion of the legion, and in time

Polyb. l. 6.

VII. *Enſigns of the legions.*

Liv. l 3. of peace the legions, who were not encamped upon the frontiers, depoſited them in the public treaſury, which was in the temple of Saturn.

When the armies were encamped, the eagles were planted in the front of the tribunal, which was always at the general's tent. In the time of the Emperors, there were other officers called *Image-bearers*, from carrying the portrait of the Emperor in the form of a great medal on the top of a pike, in the ſame manner as the eagle. The ſtaff of this enſign was generally ſo laden with ornaments of the ſame metal, that a very ſtrong man could ſcarce carry it. The army had ſo great a veneration for theſe enſigns, that they never paſſed by them without ſaluting them. The ſoldiers ſwore by them, when they would certify any thing. The ſpoils and priſoners of war were placed with them, as in an aſſured aſylum. The officers and ſoldiers of the legions depoſited their money where the eagles were planted, and the *Eagle-bearer* had the care of it. The Emperor Domitian prohibited the depoſiting above a thouſand crowns there, becauſe he aſcribed the revolt of Lucius Antonius to the eaſe he found in diſpoſing of conſiderable ſums that were in the keeping of *Eagle-bearers* of the legions under his command. When the army had gained a victory, and on public feſtivals, the Roman eagles, and the enſigns with the Emperor's head upon them, were adorned with flowers and laurels, and the moſt exquiſite perfumes were burnt before them.

VIII. *Honours paid the enſigns.*

Herod. l. 4.

Veget. l. 2. c. 10.

Suet. in vit. Domit.

Conſtantine, after having renounced Paganiſm, knowing that theſe extraordinary honours ſuited only the Divinity, cauſed the croſs to be planted upon the top of the ſtandards, and to be embroidered upon his own, which was that

of the general, called in Latin *Labarum*. It was of purple with a gold fringe round it, and reſembled a ſmall banner: it was affixed to the top of a pike, and never planted but when the Emperor was with the army.

In the firſt times of Rome, the enſigns of her armies were only a bundle of graſs or hay faſtened to the end of a pole, which was called in Latin *Manipulus fœni*, and occaſioned the name of *Maniple* to be given the companies that followed theſe enſigns. When they were laid aſide, the companies ſtill retained the ſame name, and thoſe they afterwards took, were the wolf, the minotaur, the horſe, the boar, and the eagle. According to Pliny, it was the Conſul Marius who choſe the eagle alone for the principal enſign of each legion: for beſides the eagle, each cohort had its own in the form of little banners of purple, in which dragons were painted. Every maniple and century had alſo theirs of the ſame colour, upon which were letters denoting the century, cohort, and legion.

Varr. l. 5. Ovid. Faſt. l. 3.

Plin. l. 10.

CHAPTER IV.

I. *Of the cavalry.* II. *Of the military inſtruments of muſic.* III. *Of the cuiraſſes of the Romans.* IV. *Arms of the horſe.* V. *Of the Fencing-maſters to the armies.* VI. *Of the Prætorian ſoldiers.* VII. *Of the pay of the Prætorian ſoldiers.* VIII. *Of the time that the ſoldiers were obliged to ſerve.* IX. *Of liſting the ſoldiers.*

I. *Of the cavalry.*

AS to the cavalry of each legion, it was divided, as we have already ſaid, into ten *alæ*, the ſame number as the cohorts. Each *ala* had three captains, who choſe three horſemen, who were called, as in the foot, *Tergiductores*, and ſerved them as lieutenants. The Polyb. l. 6. firſt of theſe three captains commanded the *ala*, and was called *Præfectus*. He ranked above the minor Tribunes or colonels of foot. The other two were called *Decuriones*, and in the abſence of the Præfect, the firſt of them commanded the *ala*. Each *Decurio* had two and thirty men under him. The cavalry had alſo colours and ſtandards, which were made like the enſigns of the foot, with this difference, that they were blue, and in the form of ſtreamers.

II. *Of the military inſtruments of muſic.*

As to their military inſtruments, the Romans had three ſorts; trumpets, which were ſtrait, and with which the charge and retreat were ſounded; the *buccinæ*, which were turned Polyb. l. 6. round like the French horn, and uſed in the general's preſence for giving the ſignal of battle, or for the puniſhment of ſome ſoldier; and the cornet, which was only the horn of the wild ox tipt with ſilver, which was ſounded to ſignify the

the command to the enſigns, becauſe its ſound was heard a great way; kettle-drums and the common drum not being uſed at that time in their armies. The legions were diſtinguiſhed according to the order in which they were raiſed; as the firſt, ſecond, third, and ſo on. They had alſo epithets, which were given them on account of ſome ſignal action, as *Fulminans*, *Macedonica*, *Parthica*. A legion was compoſed of four ſorts of ſoldiers excluſively of the horſe; the *Velites*, *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, which were diſtributed according to their years. The youngeſt and pooreſt formed the *Velites*; their pay was alſo leſs than that of the other ſoldiers. Theſe were the light-armed troops, who were called alſo *Anteſignani*, becauſe they were poſted before the enſigns in the front ranks, and began the battle. Their defenſive arms were a little round buckler of a foot and an half in diameter. They had a kind of little helmet made of ſtrong leather, covered with the ſkin of ſome wild beaſt, as the wolf, *&c.* but no other armour, in order to their being more active and inſtant in their motions. Their offenſive arms were the ſword, a javelin, of which the wood was about the thickneſs of an inch, and three feet in length, with a point nine inches long, but ſo ſmall, that it could not be returned with effect againſt the ſide from whence it was diſcharged. Some of the *Velites* were armed with ſlings, which they uſed only in ſkirmiſhing; and they were permitted to fly, not having any defenſive arms for coming to blows with the enemy. They were poſted at firſt in the rear of the army, and from thence advanced to the front ranks. Sometimes they were placed in the intervals of the firſt line, from whence they ſkirmiſhed between the two armies,

Polyb. l. 6.

Ibid.

Liv. l. 8.

armies, and when the charge began, they retired behind the line, and there discharged their darts or stones with a sling, over the heads of the troops in front, which they could do with the greater facility, as those front ranks were of no great depth. Before the institution of the *Velites*, the first line of the legion acted as light-armed foot, and for that purpose fought by platoons. The *Velites* were generally used for accompanying the horse upon hasty expeditions. This kind of soldiers were not instituted till the second Punic war: they were equally distributed amongst the troops, and had no particular commander. According to Livy, there were twenty in each maniple, which made sixty to a cohort, and six hundred to a legion, when it consisted of six thousand men. Before the *Velites*, the troops which formed the light-armed infantry were called *Rorarii* and *Accensi*. The *Velites* were laid aside, when the freedom of Rome was granted to all Italy, and a different kind of infantry substituted to them, which were employed however in the same operations, and consisted of slingers and such as discharged the javelin with their hands. Those who were older than the *Velites*, were called *Hastati*, or heavy-armed foot: for they wore helmets of brass, upon the crest of which was a plume of three red or black feathers, a foot and an half high. Their bodies were also covered either with a coat of mail, or with a cuirass of brass or steel, made with scales like those of a fish, and so artificially put together, that it gave way with all the motions of the body. Their thighs and arms to the elbow were covered in the same manner, and the fore-part of the leg was armed with a kind of buskins of strong leather.

Dion Cass. l. 60.

Liv. l. 8.

leather. Polybius tells us, that thoſe who were not worth above ſeventy-five pounds, wore only a braſs breaſt-plate of twelve inches ſquare which ſerved them inſtead of a cuiraſs. But in proceſs of time they were armed like the reſt. Beſides this armour, they had a buckler of four feet long and two and an half broad; which the ſame author deſcribes very particularly. He ſays it was compoſed of two pieces of very light wood, poplar or willow, glued together with ox-glue, covered with a coarſe cloth glued alſo, and over all a calf-ſkin. The ſides of it were plated with iron, as well as the middle, which was raiſed in a round form, for turning aſide and ſuſtaining the moſt violent blows of ſtones and darts. Their offenſive arms were the Spaniſh two edged ſword, to uſe the terms of Polybius, equally proper for cutting or thruſting. The blade of it was ſtrong quite from the point. They wore this ſword in a belt on the right ſide, and a dagger on the left with two miſſive weapons, of which the one was a javelin, and the other a dart ſtronger than the javelin, called *Haſta*, from which theſe troops took the name of *Haſtati*; for this word *Haſta* cannot be explained by any other than the general name of this kind of weapon, which was a dart that was diſcharged, and not a pike or ſpear. The wood of this kind of dart was ſquare, as well as the iron, which was of the ſame length as the wood, and ſharp only at the point. Appian makes this difference between the dart and the javelin; which latter was, as we have ſeen, lighter and much weaker, though both were diſcharged with the hand. After the *Haſtati* came the line of the troops called the *Principes*, heavy-armed as well as the former, and having

Polyb. l. 6.

Polyb. l. 3.

for

for offenſive arms, the ſword, the dagger, and great darts. We may obſerve in all the accounts of battles given us by the Roman hiſtorians, that the *Haſtati* and *Principes*, after having diſcharged their darts, made uſe of their ſwords: which proves that they did not uſe the pike, and that what is called *Haſta*, was a miſſive weapon. Accordingly, we do not find, that the *Haſtati* or *Principes* were oppoſed in action to horſe, as the *Triarii* were, who were armed with a kind of ſhort pike or ſpear, of which the iron was long and ſtrong, called *Pilum*, from whence they were called *Pilani*. Theſe laſt were in the beginning the only heavy-armed troops, the other not wearing compleat armour, as they did afterwards. They were called *Triarii*, becauſe they formed the third line in the order of battle. But according to the new diſpoſition introduced by Marius, they were poſted in the front. They were alſo the oldeſt and richeſt citizens, and had the eagle carried before them. At the battle of Pharſalia, Cæſar oppoſed the *Triarii* to Pompey's cavalry, who endeavoured to ſurround the tenth legion, and commanded them to point their ſhort pikes, or *pila*, at the faces of thoſe horſe. The uſe of pikes in the Roman infantry was not introduced till long after the Emperors reigned. Florus obſerves, that after the defeat of Philip King of Macedonia by the Romans, the Macedonians were aſtoniſhed at the terrible wounds on the bodies of their dead, which could only be made by heavy ſwords and great darts, and by arms much ſtronger than thoſe uſed by the Greeks.

Tac. l. 14.

Plut. in vit. J. Cæſ.

Flor. l. 2. c. 7.

III. *Of the cuiraſſes of the Romans.* Montfauc. Antiq.

The cuiraſſes of the Romans were of different kinds, but all ſo made as to fit the ſhape. Some of them were made of mail, or little rings

rings of iron ſtrongly inſerted into each other; and others of ſcales of braſs. The moſt common were of thick leather ſtrengthened on the outſide with circular pieces of the ſame, or plates of iron, as they are repreſented upon the pillars of Trajan and Antonine, and with long ſtraps of leather one above another, hanging at the bottom of the corſlet. There were other lighter cuiraſſes made only of many folds of linnen cloth one over another, or of flax made ſtrong enough to reſiſt weapons. As to their ſhields, they were uſually of an oval form: moſt of the Roman legionary troops however had ſquare ones about two feet and a half long, convex without and concave within, by one foot and a half broad. The form of them was changed after Polybius wrote, but their matter was always the ſame. Furius Camillus cauſed them to be plated with iron, in order to their keeping off blows the better. This hollow form ſeemed moſt commodious to the Romans for making what they called the Tortoiſe, in covering themſelves with their bucklers, diſpoſed like tiles, when they gave the aſſault to a place. They found its effect ſo good, that they retained the uſe of it long. As to the ſize of their bucklers, it varied, as we find by the difference between what Polybius tells us of them, and later writers ſay. Their ſhields differed according to the different bodies of troops that compoſed the legion. We have ſaid already, that the light-armed ſoldiers had ſmall round ones. The *Haſtati* had great ones, four feet long by two and a half broad. The latter compoſed the firſt line when the Tortoiſe was formed in the open field. The manner of uſing

Liv. l. 10.

Dio. Caſſ. l. 49.

the

the buckler was an exercise taught the soldiers, as well as that of throwing the javelin.

VI. *Arms of the horse.* Polyb. l. 6.

As to the horse, in the beginning they had no defensive arms except an indifferent buckler of ox-hide, and for offensive arms only a weak javelin. But as it was perceived in the sequel, that they were too much exposed in consequence, they were armed after the manner of the Greeks, that is to say, at all points: even their horses had armour on the breast and flanks. The horseman wore an open helmet, upon which was a great plume of feathers, or some other ornament instead of it. His armour was either of mail or scales, and covered him to his elbow and knees, with gauntlets, and a strong shield His offensive arms were a strong javelin tipt with iron at both ends, and a sword much longer than that of the foot. Polybius gives us this description of the armour of the Roman cavalry. Dionysius Halicarnassensis observes upon the advantage of these great strong swords in the battle of Titus Siccius against the Volsci in the 267th year of Rome. I have already said, that the horse did not use stirrops, and that their saddles were flat without bolsters; so that they had nothing to keep them firm, but their manner of sitting. To mount, they were obliged to leap on horseback compleatly armed; which was always difficult, though they were used to it. They were taught to mount both on the right and left side. It was not the custom to shoe their horses, tho' they did their mules. The Romans had also archers in their cavalry; but without armour, that they might be the more active. They had only a quiver full of arrows, a bow and a sword: these were a kind of light horse. There were

Dion. Hal. l. 8. c. 10.

Montfauc. Antiq.

were no archers amongſt the Roman infantry, but many amongſt the auxiliary troops.

The Romans were long ignorant of all the advantages to be made of cavalry, which for that reaſon was little numerous. They relied ſolely upon their foot, in which they made their principal force conſiſt, till the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy with well-diſciplined troops firſt made them perceive by his manner of fighting the advantage of horſe. Hannibal fully convinced them of it to their coſt: for it was by the ſuperiority of his cavalry, and his manner of uſing it, that he gained ſo many victories over them. They were indebted to theſe two great captains for their knowledge of the art military, of which they had but a very imperfect idea before. We find in Polybius, Polyb. l. 1. that Xanthippus the general of the Carthaginians owed the famous victory, which he gained over Regulus, ſolely to the ſuperiority of his cavalry to that of the Romans, and the uſe he knew how to make of it; and that Regulus had defeated the Carthaginians, only becauſe their generals had not improved that advantage.

When the ſoldiers appeared diſarmed in ſome pomp or public ceremony, they wore only neat ſmall ſwords, gilt with ſilver or gold, and Herod. hanging in a ſlight belt. We have already ſeen l. 2. that none were admitted into the Roman troops till ſeventeen years of age; that to be a legionary ſoldier it was neceſſary to be a Roman citizen; and that during a very conſiderable length of time, freedmen and artificers were not received into the armies, except upon great exigencies. But they made no difficulty to admit huſbandmen, provided they were citizens; conſidering them as men enured to labour, and fit for ſuſtaining

taining the fatigues of war. The great want of soldiers which the Romans were under in the war with the allies, obliged them to admit freedmen into the service, who from thenceforth retained that privilege. Besides the soldiers listed into the legions, there were also others called in Latin *Tirones*, that is to say, apprentices. These were supernumeraries, who were not deemed to be listed, because they did not take the military oath, till they were received into the legions in the room of the dead, or of those who had compleated the term of their service. They were however maintained and taught the military exercises at the expence of the Commonwealth, till they became legionary soldiers, and served in the mean time in the light-armed troops. The Consul Rutilius Rufus, in the 647th year of Rome, during the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, instituted fencing-masters to the armies, for instructing young soldiers in the use of arms. The old soldiers had that office before: but the Consul conceived, that men who should have no other employment, would form better disciples.

Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 1.

V. *Fencing-masters to the armies.*

Under the Emperors, not only the children of the Roman citizens, but those also of all free persons, were obliged to present themselves, when there were orders for levying troops. The best made and most robust were chosen. The names of such as were chosen were set down; and either a mark was made on their skin by pricking it, or a bit of lead was hung on their breasts. It is not known when this custom began; but it was observed in the time of Diocletian. The Emperors occasioned the institution of a new body of troops, called the *Prætorian Cohorts*, the number of which was not less

VI. *Prætorian soldiers.*

leſs than nine. They conſiſted of about ten thouſand men, but were ſometimes more numerous. They were ſolely deſigned for the guard of the Emperors, who however could employ them for the guard of their wives and children; but it was not cuſtomary for the Prætorian ſoldiers to guard any beſides the Prince. This body of troops was commanded by the *Præfectus Prætorio*, as I have already ſaid in ſpeaking of that officer: he had Tribunes and Centurions under him. Theſe troops were almoſt all infantry, with very few horſe. Some cohorts of ſtrangers were alſo admitted amongſt them, as the *Alemanni*, *Batavi*, and *Thracians*. Tacitus tells us, that they had alſo ſome archers amongſt them, whom he ſays Otho took with him, beſides thoſe of his guard. The Prætorian ſoldiers had double pay: inſtead of the *Denarius* of ten *aſſes*, which was the uſual pay of other ſoldiers, they had two, and privileges which the others had not. At length, abuſing the power they were ſuffered to aſſume, they carried it ſo far as to elect and dethrone ſeveral Emperors, without regard to the Senate, whom they obliged to approve and confirm thoſe they proclaimed, unleſs the armies on the frontiers had elected others, and ſupported them. Tiberius cauſed a camp to be erected for them cloſe to the city, fortified with good works like a fortreſs, where they uſually encamped. The Emperor Conſtantine demoliſhed this camp after having entirely broke theſe troops. Auguſtus gave theſe troops the name of Prætorian cohorts, politically to amuſe the People, who were accuſtomed to that name, and to ſtrengthen his power by that means without noiſe. For antiently during the Commonwealth the

VII *Pay of the Prætorian ſoldiers.* Dio Caſſ. l. 53.

Suet. in vit. Othon Claud. & Galb. Herod. l. 5.

generals of the armies had a cohort of choſen ſoldiers for their guards, which was called the Prætorian cohort, becauſe they did not quit the general's perſon, who was generally either a Conſul or a Prætor; and in the beginning the name of Prætor was given alſo to the Conſuls, as has already been ſaid.

The Emperor Septimus Severus very much augmented the Prætorian troops, and formed them out of the braveſt ſoldiers of the provincial legions, contrary to the cuſtom obſerved till then, of taking them only out of thoſe of Italy. He decreed alſo, that the recruits for that body of troops ſhould be drawn out of the legions. Auguſtus alſo eſtabliſhed a kind of troops in Rome to remain always there. They were compoſed of ſeven cohorts, who were quartered in the city, and paid at the public expence. Theſe ſoldiers were named *Vigiles*, becauſe they were to watch and remedy diſorders and fires which might happen. Their commander had the title of Præfect of the city, and was elected out of the order of the Knights.

Suet. in vit. Aug.

VIII. *Of the time the ſoldiers were obliged to ſerve.*

The foot were obliged to ſerve ſixteen years, and the horſe ten. After the age of forty-ſix they were no longer admitted to ſerve as ſoldiers, and if they were in the ſervice at that age, or had completed the term preſcribed by the laws, they were at liberty to retire. But when they deſired to continue longer in the ſervice, they were ranked in the number of veterans or voluntiers; for ſo they were then called. They had peculiar privileges, and were exempt from works and duty, except only when the queſtion was to oppoſe the enemy. As to furlows, they made no difficulty to grant the ſoldiers leave to be abſent for ten months. The great extent of

Tac. l. 1. Ibid.

the empire, of which the frontiers, where the armies usually incamped, were very remote, made it necessary indeed to grant a considerable time. A soldier had no other * judge but his officer; the laws prohibited bringing him to any other tribunal. Augustus decreed, that the Prætorian soldiers should not be dismissed till after twelve, and the others till after sixteen, years service. As long as the Commonwealth had no regular troops, she had no occasion for such regulations. She did not begin to have a certain number of legions on foot, till the war with Pyrrhus. Till then the Senate decreed the levies, some short time before it was necessary to take the field. The Consuls or officers appointed to make them, immediately proceeded to list the soldiers, and all the citizens capable of bearing arms were obliged to be present. Those who seemed most fit for the war were chosen, and the number of legions that were necessary, formed out of them; and when the campaign was over, the troops were dismissed. The same was done the next campaign; so that on every new occasion a new army took the field: and the campaign often lasted no longer than the time that was requisite for making an incursion into the enemy's country, to ravage it, and carry off all that they could, cattle, grain, and the inhabitants, whom they made slaves.

IX. *Of levying the troops.* Polyb. l. 1.

Dion. Hal. l. 6 & 7. Liv. l. 2.

* Bardiacus judex datur hæc punire volenti,
Calceus, & grandes magna ad subsellia suræ,
Legibus antiquis castrorum, & more Camilli
Servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra,
Et procul à signis. *Juv.* Sat. XVI.

A booted judge shall sit to try his cause,
Not by the statute, but by martial laws;
Which old Camillus order'd, to confine
The brawls of soldiers to the trench and line. Dryden.

After that, the troops marched back with their booty to Rome, and were disbanded. But if the enemy had also an army on foot, assoon as they came in view of each other, a battle ensued, the event of which also put an end to the campaign, that consequently was not very long, unless it was necessary to besiege some place, which generally took up a considerable length of time; especially when the place was naturally strong, and provided with troops and provisions. For the Romans in those days did not know most of the machines of war. These incursions induced the Romans in the early times to build little forts in the most advantagious parts of the Roman territory, where they left some troops in garrison, to serve as an asylum for the husbandmen and inhabitants of the country, who took refuge in them with their baggage and cattle, assoon as the enemy appeared, and abandoned their houses, which were then only a kind of cottages. During the whole time that the Commonwealth gave her troops no pay, it is no wonder that the citizens who composed them, were desirous to return home assoon as possible, in order to cultivate their lands, and follow their professions. And this was a sufficiently powerful motive to determine them to shorten the campaign in this manner, and to prevent them from having legions always on foot. However, when the Commonwealth had extended her conquests in Italy, she perceived the necessity she was under of having troops always on foot, to awe the people newly subjected to her power, and always seeking occasions to revolt from it.

Dion. Hal. l. 6. c. 2. Liv. l. 5.

CHAP-

CHAPTER V.

I. *Of the ignorance of the firſt Romans in the art of war.* II. *Of the military diſcipline.* III. *Cauſes of the inſolence of the Roman ſoldiery.* IV. *Exactneſs in paying the troops.* V. *Of the troops of which the armies were compoſed.*

I. *Of the ignorance of the firſt Romans in the art of war.*

IT was not only in the attack of places, that the Romans had little experience at that time; they were even ignorant of the danger there was in expoſing themſelves on the plain, againſt an enemy ſuperior in cavalry. They were alſo ignorant of the manner of avoiding a battle, either by advantagious incampments, or by marches or counter-marches. They conſidered the leaſt delay as a want of courage, and made the whole art military conſiſt ſolely in an obſtinate and ſavage courage, having had to deal till then only with neighbours as little experienced as themſelves. But they diſcovered their errors in their wars with Pyrrhus and Hannibal. Of the firſt they learnt the order of incampments, and the manner of employing cavalry; and of the other, the ſtratagems, and true ſcience of war. They knew ſo well how to improve from their leſſons, and rendered themſelves ſo expert, that in the ſequel they excelled all other nations in them. Military diſcipline was during a long time ſo exact and ſo ſevere amongſt them, that victory itſelf was a crime, when obtained without the general's order: their hiſtory has many examples of this kind. Scipio Africanus was the firſt, that ſoftened Liv. l. 8.

this miſtaken ſeverity; and afterwards it was confined within due bounds. It is certain that the military diſcipline of no nation ever excelled that of the Romans, and that it has ſince ſerved as the model for the beſt governed States. Auguſtus, perceiving that the ſecurity of a State depends in a great meaſure upon military diſcipline, was extremely intent upon maintaining it, after he became quiet poſſeſſor of the empire. He cauſed the cohorts that had quitted their poſts to be decimated; and ordered that nothing but barley ſhould be given them for a certain time, inſtead of the corn which was uſually diſtributed amongſt them for their ſubſiſtance. Officers were forbade to quit their poſts upon pain of death: but if the faults were leſs conſiderable, he contented himſelf with ſome ſlight puniſhment; as to make them ſtand an whole day in the *Prætorium*, and ſometimes in only a ſingle tunic, that is almoſt to ſay ſhirt, carrying poles or turf. In the time of the Commonwealth the ſoldiers were alſo decimated for great faults; and for thoſe of a ſmaller nature, they were condemned either to barley bread, or reduced to an inferior rank in the troops. If they were *Haſtati* they were made to ſerve amongſt the *Velites*. It muſt be owned indeed, that military diſcipline was not always obſerved with the ſame ſtrictneſs, and that the ſoldiers were ſometimes treated with too much indulgence and impunity; but that remiſſneſs proceeded either from the avarice of the generals, who were too attentive to their private intereſt, or the heads of the contending parties during the civil war. Sylla enriched his ſoldiers with the eſtates of thoſe he proſcribed: and the uſurpers of the empire endeavoured to conciliate

II. *Of the military diſcipline.*

Suet. in vit. Aug.

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 7.

Liv. l. 2.

Plut. in vit. Syll. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 1.

conciliate their favour, for their own ſupport. Thoſe ambitious citizens rendered the Roman ſoldiery little docile, and even inſolent, by the careſſes and preſents which they made them, doubling even their pay, as the uſurper Macrinus did.

III. *Cauſes of the inſolence of the Roman ſoldiery.* Herod l 4. Jul Capit. in vit. Macrin.

Under the Emperors, the avarice of the Centurions introduced the abuſe of ſelling furlows ſometimes, and even exemptions from work and fatigues, like thoſe enjoyed by the Veterans. Tacitus informs us, that this abuſe began to take place about the beginning of the reign of Tiberius. It augmented continually in the ſequel, ſo that all the ſoldiers who had money, could exempt themſelves from military labours, which did not a little contribute to deſtroy that excellent diſcipline, which had rendered the Romans ſo formidable.

Tac. Ann. l. 1.

The effect of theſe exemptions was, to give birth to idleneſs amongſt the ſoldiers, and rendered them in conſequence more diſpoſed to cabal amongſt themſelves. And accordingly we find, that mutinies were more frequent in the army under the Emperors, than during the Commonwealth. What alſo favoured them, was the cuſtom of the different armies of the empire, to contract a kind of alliance or confederacy with each other, which ſerved only to augment their boldneſs, in making inſolent demands, or forming parties. When one army deſired to enter into ſuch a league with another, they ſent a deputation to it, compoſed of one or more centurions, attended by ſome old ſoldiers, with the figure of two hands joined together, a ſymbol of the union to be formed between them.

Ibid.

However, notwithſtanding all theſe diſorders, the military diſcipline did not fail to ſupport itſelf during a great length of time: for aſſoon as the Empire fell into better hands, it reſumed all its vigour. Avidius Caſſius, general in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, cauſed it to be obſerved ſo ſtrictly, that he forbade his ſoldiers to carry any other proviſions for their ſubſiſtance except bacon, biſcuit, and vinegar; and the laſt day of every week he inſpected their arms and habits, to ſee whether they were in good condition, or wanted repair, and made them perform the exerciſe. Septimus Severus, though a ſufficiently exact obſerver of diſcipline, permitted the legionary ſoldiers to marry, and their wives to follow the army, which was an additional incumbrance. However, under Alexander Severus, who ſucceeded next, diſcipline was again ſo exactly obſerved, that if any ſoldier ſtraggled in order to plunder, he cauſed him to be ſcourged with rods in his preſence, or even condemned him to die. A ſoldier who was a carpenter, having injured an old woman, was broke at the head of his company by the Prince, who condemned him to ſerve that woman, and and to maintain her by his work. The ſame Emperor ſaid, that a ſoldier feared nothing when he was well cloathed, well armed, well fed, and had his belt well furniſhed, that is to ſay, had money, for they generally carried their purſes in their belt. The Romans always took care to pay their troops regularly. The Commonwealth began about the 347th year of Rome to give the infantry pay, upon account of the length of the ſiege of Veii; for the ſoldiers ſerved before at their own expence. The foot at firſt had three *aſſes* a day, and ſix for each Centurion.

Vulc Gall. in vit. Avid. Caſſ.

Herod. l. 3.

Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sev.

IV. *Exactneſs in paying the troops.*

Liv. l. 4

turion. Five or six years after, they began to give the cavalry pay also, and each horseman had three times the pay of a foot soldier; which was afterwards augmented to two *oboli*, or two thirds of a *denarius* for the infantry, and an whole *denarius* for the cavalry: but under the Emperors, the pay of each foot soldier was one *denarius*, and the horse had two. The *denarius* was a silver coin, that weighed a dram, as we have said before. The Commonwealth in some times supplied the troops with wheat *gratis*, allowing each of the foot about four bushels *per* month, and each of the horse twelve, on account of his servants, and almost two and forty bushels of barley for his horses. At other times, all this was deducted out of their pay: but under most of the Emperors, they had their pay without any deductions. It was not the same in respect to their habiliments, with which they were indeed supplied, but the price of them was deducted out of their pay, as well as of their arms and tents. Polyb. l. 6. Tac. l. 1.

V. *Of the troops of which the armies were composed.*

The Roman armies were more or less numerous, according to occasions; but they were always composed of three bodies. The first were the Roman legions, into which none were admitted but citizens: the second were the troops, called allies, which the States of Italy furnished, and which served during the Commonwealth without pay, except only corn, that was given them. For when Rome received any city or province into her alliance, it was always upon condition of supplying troops when demanded, and of maintaining them at their own expence; as she did with the Æqui in the 289th year of Rome. And lastly, the third body was composed of auxiliary troops, sent by strangers: Polyb. l. 1. Dion Hal. l. 9. c. 15.

these

theſe were paid daily during the Commonwealth. Till the time of the Emperors, the armies were commanded either by the Conſuls, Prætors, or Proconſuls, with one or more lieutenants under them. The horſe had a peculiar commander, but always ſubordinate to the Dictator, who appointed him: he was called *Magiſter equitum*, that is to ſay what we call General of the cavalry. Julius Cæſar entirely ſuppreſſed this office.

Polyb. l. 6. There was alſo an officer called *Præfectus*, who had the care of encampments, and fortifications of the camp, and of the ſick and the carriages. We have already ſeen that the Quæſtors diſcharged the functions of our treaſurers and commiſſaries of war.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VI.

I. *Of encampments.* II. *Of the diſpoſition of the camp.* III. *Of the ſoldiers manner of living.* IV. *Of decamping.* V. *March of Veſpaſian's army.* VI. *Condition of a ſoldier, highly conſidered.*

FROM the time that the Romans had learned the form, diſpoſition, and fortifications of a camp from Pyrrhus, their manner of encamping was almoſt always the ſame. They gave their camp a ſquare form, and at each front there was a gate, ſo that there were four in all. Aſſoon as the army arrived at the place where the camp had been marked out, the firſt thing that was done was to make the ſoldiers throw up the intrenchments: for they never encamped without intrenching to prevent ſurprize. Theſe intrenchments conſiſted only of a ditch five feet wide, and three deep, of which the earth was flung up on the ſide next the camp, in order to form a kind of rampart, which they ſtrengthened with turf and paliſades, when they were to ſtay in it only one or two nights. But if they were to make a longer ſtay in it, they dug a trench from eleven to twelve feet in breadth, and proportionable depth, behind which they erected a rampart of earth, ſtrengthened with faſcines, covered with turf, and flanked with towers at the diſtance of fourſcore feet from each other, with parapets and battlements, in the ſame manner as the walls of a town. The ſoldiers were accuſtomed to theſe works, and threw them up without quitting their arms; which was ſo ſeverely enjoined them, that the general

I. *Of encampments.* Polyb. l. 6.

Tac. l. 11. general Corbulo, who commanded upon the Rhine in the time of the Emperor Claudius, cauſed two ſoldiers to be put to death, who had worked upon the intrenchments of the camp, the one without a ſword, and the other armed only with a dagger.

II. *Diſpoſition of the camp.* Polyb. l. 6. Joſeph. de bell. Rom. The tent of the Conſul, Prætor, or general, was pitched in the propereſt place for ſeeing the whole camp, and in the midſt of a ſquare, of which each ſide was an hundred feet diſtant from it, and the tents of the general's guard were pitched at each corner of this ſquare. The *Prætorium*, or general's tribunal, was incloſed in the ſame place as his tent. The hiſtorian Joſephus ſays, that it had the form of a little temple: it was here he diſpenſed juſtice. There were alſo other places in the camp, where the principal officers adjudged the differences that aroſe between the ſoldiers. We find in Polybius that three centinels were poſted before the Quæſtor's quarters, Polyb. l. 6. which was called *Quæſtorium*, where the military cheſt was kept. Two were alſo poſted before the quarters of thoſe ſent by the Senate to ſerve as the general's council, who were commonly Senators, upon whoſe experience they could rely. Another tribunal made of earth and turf was erected in the principal eſplanade or ſquare of the camp, from whence the general harangued in public: for amongſt the Romans, the general prepared and encouraged his troops by a diſcourſe, which he made to them previouſly to any conſiderable action. The quarters of the camp were divided into ſtreets, that ran in a line, with ſquares in different parts of them, where proviſions and other neceſſaries were ſold, there being ſhops in them kept by all ſorts of artificers, who always followed the armies in great

Plut. in vit. Syll. Pomp. & Cæſ. Joſeph. de bell. Rom. Veget. l. 1. c. 2 & 18.

great numbers; ſo that the camp formed a kind of city, where the ſpace of two hundred feet was left between the camp and the intrenchments, in order that the troops might draw up behind them for their defence in caſe of an attack. In this void ſpace the cattle for the ſubſiſtance of the camp were kept.

The Romans always had armies upon the frontiers of the Empire, in peace as well as war, with this only difference, that they were not ſo numerous in time of peace: they encamped the whole year, winter as well as ſummer. Care was taken, that the camps ſhould be well fortified, and ſupplied with all kinds of munitions of war during the winter. For they found, that the fortified cities did not ſuffice for the ſecurity of the frontier provinces againſt the incurſions of the Barbarians; and that theſe bodies of troops, which were always in readineſs to march, and in condition to act, were the beſt method for keeping them in awe, and preventing their irruptions. Beſides which, exerciſing the ſoldiery continually in military labours, ſerved to maintain diſcipline, and rendered them more capable of ſupporting the extraordinary fatigues, which happened during war: for when it is neceſſary to act, troops kept in exerciſe are leſs ſubject to diſeaſes, than thoſe who take the field after long reſt and inactivity. Beſides theſe cantoned armies, the Romans uſed to form colonies of citizens and old ſoldiers upon the frontiers, and in the provinces newly conquered, in order to awe the People. Aſſoon as it was day, the ſoldiers of the camp went to ſalute their Centurions, who afterwards waited upon the Tribunes, and accompanied them to the general, when he gave them the word, and

Suet. in vit. Aug. & Tib. Tac. l. 1 & 4.

Tac l 14. Vell. Pat. l. 1. c. 5.

Polyb. l. 6. Joſeph. l. 3. c. 6.

the neceſſary orders, which they carried to their inferiors. When the Tribunes went to receive the general's orders, they preſented him the roll of thoſe who ſerved under them. In a word, every thing was ſo well regulated in the camp, that the hour for going to ſleep was fixed, as well as thoſe for meals, which they made all together by tents, not being allowed to eat ſeparately. Their food uſually was bacon, cheeſe and biſcuit; and their drink water mixed with a little vinegar. Many authors tell us, that generals and even ſome Emperors lived no better, whilſt with the army; but none mention either the abundance or elegance of their tables. The Emperors however often invited their officers to eat with them; and Trebellius Pollio informs us, that they took off their belts with their ſwords in them, before they ſate down with the Emperor. But the ſon of Gallienus whilſt a child, ſeeing the belts adorned with gold, which ſome of the officers had left in the hall of the palace, whilſt they ate, carried them away. Thoſe officers not finding them, dared not complain; but being invited again to the Emperor's table, they took off neither their belts nor their ſwords, leſt they ſhould be taken away again; and from thenceforth the officers, to whom the Emperors did that honour, ate with their ſwords on.

Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 5.

III. *Of the ſoldiers way of living.*

Polyb. l. 6. Joſeph. l. 3. c. 6.

Spart. in vit. Adri. Herod. l. 3. & 4.

Trebell. Poll. in vit. Gallien.

It is obſerved that the Emperor Adrian marched at the head of the legions on foot in his arms, and that he lived in the ſame manner as his ſoldiers. The Roman hiſtory mentions many others who did the ſame.

Spart. in vit. Adri.

Herod. l. 2.

The ſoldiers in the camp, when not on duty, exerciſed themſelves in the management of their arms. They fixed ſtakes up for this purpoſe, againſt

againſt which they practiſed with a ſhield and a ſtaff, inſtead of a ſword, both heavier than their uſual arms, in order that the latter might appear lighter in their hands when uſed. In like manner, to render their arm the ſtronger, they threw a bar, which was heavier than the dart. They alſo ſhot with the bow, diſcharged ſtones with the ſling, and exerciſed themſelves in running compleatly armed. The horſe in like manner exerciſed their horſes, and endeavoured in their career to hit a buckler faſtened to a poſt with their javelins. Polybius informs us in what manner Scipio Africanus exerciſed his troops in Spain: the firſt day he made the legions run about four thouſand paces, armed at all points; the ſecond he employed them in cleaning their arms before their tents; the third he let them reſt; the fourth he made them fight, one ſide againſt the other, with a kind of files; and the fifth theſe exerciſes began again in the ſame order: by this method he kept them always breathing, and fit for ſervice. On relieving the poſts at every watch in the night, the trumpets were ſounded: the centinels cried out from time to time in order to be heard, and to let each other know that they were awake; and every morning the trumpets ſounded before the general's tent, which was a mark of honour peculiar to him. The ſignal for decamping was alſo given by this inſtrument; and immediately after the general's tent was ſtruck, the ſoldiers ſtruck theirs. Theſe tents were made of leather, one to every ten ſoldiers. They then made up their baggage. At the ſecond ſound of the trumpets they loaded it; and on the third the army began to march, after having ſet fire to their camp, that the enemy might not uſe it.

Polyb. l. 10.

IV. *Of decamping.*

it. No author has deſcribed in ſo clear and circumſtantial a manner the march of a Roman army, as the hiſtorian Joſephus. At the time of which he ſpeaks, their diſcipline was in its greateſt perfection. It therefore cannot be better related than in the terms of his deſcription, which is as follows.

Joſeph. de Bell. Rom.

When the army prepares to march, none are ſuffered to ſtay behind, in order that every one may march in his poſt. An herald then who is near the general, aſks them three times, whether they are in readineſs to fight, to which they anſwer as often by cries to expreſs their joy, or elſe by lifting up their hands: after which they move in good order, without ever breaking their ranks.

The ſame author tells us, in what manner they were armed. The foot, ſays he, have helmets and cuiraſſes, and each carries two ſwords, of which that on the left ſide is much longer than that on the right, which is only a dagger, being no more than a palm in length, or nine inches. We have ſeen above, that Polybius places the long ſword on the right ſide, and the dagger on the left. The choſen troops, who attend the general's perſon, have ſpears with great ſhields, and all the reſt of the foot have darts with long bucklers; and in a kind of wicker caſes, a ſaw, an hedge-bill, an hatchet, a pick-ax, a ſickle, a chain or leather thongs, and bread for three days; ſo that they are ſcarce leſs laden than horſes. Polybius ſays, that the Roman ſoldiers carried their bucklers hanging at their backs, their darts in their hands, beſides a ſtake to ſerve as a paliſade in their intrenchments, and on ſome occaſions three or four, bound together like a faggot. Theſe ſtakes

Polyb. l. 17.

were

were not ſmooth; they choſe them full of branches, of which they left three or four on, but only on one ſide, which ſerved, as they were planted near one another, to interweave ſo as to form an hedge, and to bind them ſo firmly together, that one could not be pulled up ſeparately; ſo that a paſſage could not be made through them without cutting them down. However the *relievo* on Trajan's column repreſents theſe ſtakes like thoſe now uſed for paliſades, and planted very near to each other. We may judge how much the Roman ſoldiers were enured to fatigue; for they were obliged to carry all this, beſides their arms and cuiraſſes. Marius to avoid the trouble, which too much baggage occaſions in the march of an army, and to eaſe the troops, cauſed every ſoldier to make up his equipage and proviſions into a bundle, which he carried upon his ſhoulders with a fork, that lightened the load, and afforded him means of reſting himſelf with greater eaſe. It was on this account, that the ſoldiers of that general were called Marius's mules. To avoid incumbrance, horſes and mules were uſed in the armies for carrying the baggage and ammunition rather than waggons. Several Emperors however, and amongſt others Alexander Severus, made the ſervice of the troops more eaſy, in permitting them to cauſe their proviſions and baggage to be carried in waggons. Under the Emperor Gordian, for the greater conveniency, magazines of wheat, barley, ſtraw, bacon and vinegar, were erected in all the frontier cities of the empire: the whole munitions of the Roman armies conſiſted in thoſe things. Theſe magazines were more or leſs conſiderable, in proportion to the

Frontin. l. 4.

Jul. Capit. in vit. Gord.

cities where they were eſtabliſhed; in order that the armies might not be diſtreſſed for their ſubſiſtance. Vopiſcus repeats a fragment of a letter of the Emperor Aurelian's, from which it appears that each century had a mule to carry their common baggage.

As to the Horſe, on the right ſide they wore a ſword, long in reſpect to thoſe of the foot, which were ſhort. They carried a ſpear in their hands, a ſhield ſlung on the ſide of their horſes, and a quiver with three, and ſometimes more, darts in it, of which the points were very broad; theſe darts were not ſhorter than javelins; which ſeems to argue that the darts were uſually not ſo long as the javelins. Their cuiraſs and helmet were like thoſe of the foot. Thoſe who attended the general, were armed like the reſt; and lots determined which troops ſhould be poſted in the front of the army.

After the hiſtorian Joſephus has given us all theſe particulars in reſpect to the Roman army under Veſpaſian, he deſcribes their march as follows.

V. *March of Veſpaſian's army.*

The auxiliary troops, as the moſt lightly armed, marched firſt to ſuſtain the ſkirmiſhes of the enemy, and reconnoitre the woods and other places, where they might have planted ambuſcades. Part of the Roman foot and horſe followed, and ten ſoldiers of each company with their arms and the things neceſſary for forming a camp. The pioneers came next, to level the roads, and cut down the trees that might retard the march. The baggage of the officers, with a body of cavalry to guard it, followed. Then came Veſpaſian, with choſen troops both of horſe and foot armed with javelins. Sixſcore men were drawn out of each

great

great body of horſe for that purpoſe. The machines for taking places were the next; and then the tribunes and captains accompanied by choſen ſoldiers. After them was ſeen the Imperial eagle; ſurrounded by the other enſigns, on which were the images called ſacred. The trumpets and clarions followed; and then the main body in columns of ſix in front, with the officers appointed to make them keep their ranks, and obſerve diſcipline. The ſervants of each legion attended the ſoldiers, driving the mules and horſes laden with their baggage, for which permiſſion had evidently been granted before this time. In the rear of all were the ſutlers, artiſans, and other mercenaries, eſcorted by a conſiderable body of horſe and foot. The Roman ſoldiers had ſervants; but that great number of ſervants, far from incommoding the army, ſerved it on occaſion, as a ſupply of forces, being all prepared to ſecond their maſters on occaſion.

As none could attain offices, during the Commonwealth, till they had ſerved ten years, That induced the young Nobility, and the ſons of the rich to enter themſelves in the troops, independantly of the general obligation of all the Roman citizens to ſerve in the army, when occaſion required. Hence the Roman ſoldiery conſiſted of a great number of perſons of diſtinction; which placed the condition of a ſoldier in much higher conſideration, than it is at this time. It ſeems alſo to have been the will of the Commonwealth, that the generals ſhould take great care to ſpare the lives of the Roman ſoldiers, provided that ſtrictneſs of diſcipline did not ſuffer by it, as ſhe did not grant the honour of a triumph to a general, except when victory had not coſt him much blood. Polyb. l. 6.

VI. *Condition of a ſoldier much conſidered.*

The honours annexed to the Civic crown, which was the reward of him who ſaved the life of a citizen in battle, ſufficiently expreſſed how grateful that ſervice was to the Commonwealth. The Emperors had not the ſame attention; though the condition of a ſoldier was in no leſs conſideration under them, in effect of the power which the armies arrogated to themſelves of electing Emperors, and the hope which a private perſon might have, not only of attaining the firſt offices of the army, which could be done only by degrees, but even the empire itſelf, as happened to many. However, under ſuch princes as cauſed military diſcipline to be obſerved, we find the centurions treated the ſoldiers with abundance of ſeverity and even cruelty, as appears from the reproaches made by the ſoldiers of Germanicus on that head in a ſedition, which aroſe in his camp in the beginning of Tiberius's reign.

Eutr. l. 8. & 9. Herod. l. 6.

Tac. l. 1.

The hiſtorian Joſephus differs with Polybius, in reſpect to the ſwords, which the latter ſays they wore on the right ſide, and the former on the left: however, we ought not to be ſurprized at theſe differences, no more than at thoſe which we find in ſeveral things upon the monuments of antiquity and in other authors. Theſe differences ariſe, as has been already obſerved, only from thoſe of time: for cuſtoms have admitted various alterations, as we have ſeen in reſpect to the horſe, who at firſt had no cuiraſs, which they afterwards had. But it is certain, that in all theſe different times, the ſwords of the horſemen were always longer than thoſe of the foot; on which fact Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis and Joſephus agree, as well as concerning the ſwords of the foot, that were not long, in

effect of their cuſtom of fighting cloſe covered with their bucklers: but it is impoſſible to treat this matter with the utmoſt exactneſs. For the reſt, it is certain that the ſwords were very broad, and that they cut both with edge and point. Tacitus, in the hiſtory of the Emperor Otho, relating the battle of Bebriacum, ſays, that the ſoldiers, who were upon the cauſey of the great road, puſhed each other with their bodies and bucklers, cutting their helmets and cuiraſſes with axes and ſwords. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis gives us the ſame idea in his deſcription of the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, and in many other parts of his hiſtory. But all this does not prove, that the blades of the ſword were only thirteen or fourteen inches long, as thoſe pretend, who adhere too ſcrupulouſly to antient ſtatues and relievos. There ſeems more reaſon to believe, that the ſculptors rather conformed to the magnitude of the blocks of marble which they cut, or their own conveniency, than to the juſt proportion of the arms of thoſe times, which might have been inconvenient to them in their works, if they had ſtrictly confined themſelves to the truth.

Tac. Hiſt. l. 2.

CHAPTER VII.

I. *Of the machines uſed inſtead of artillery.* II. *Of fortifications.* III. *Of the tortoiſe for ſcaling walls.* IV. *Manner of attacking places.* V. *Of mines made for throwing down ramparts.* VI. *Of the tortoiſe in the open field.* VII. *Of the order of battle.* VIII. *Military will.*

I. *Machines uſed inſtead of artillery.*

THE machines which they uſed inſtead of artillery followed the armies, as we have juſt ſeen in the march of Veſpaſian. They were drawn upon carriages, ſome put together and fit for ſervice, and others in pieces, becauſe too groſs to be reared any where except on ſome ſolid place, as upon towers, ramparts or platforms. They conſiſted in the effect of the powers of motion, and were uſed either for diſcharging ſtones and darts, or for battering walls and ramparts in order to ſhake and throw them down. Thoſe, of which moſt knowledge is come down to us, are the ram, the wolf, the tortoiſe, the baliſta, the catapulta, and the ſcorpion; the two laſt were almoſt the ſame thing. The ram was compoſed of a large long beam, armed at one end with iron in the form of a ram's head, and of the ſame bigneſs with the beam. This piece of wood was ſuſpended by chains *in æquilibrio*, in order to be ſet in motion with the greater eaſe. An hundred men, more or leſs, worked it by main ſtrength, to make it ſtrike againſt a wall or rampart, in order to beat them down after having ſhaken them by repeated blows. Care was taken to cloath this beam with wet leather to prevent its being

being ſet on fire. It was ſlung under a kind of moving tortoiſe or gallery, which covered more than half of it, in order to ſhelter thoſe who worked the ram from the darts and ſtones of the beſieged. The latter generally oppoſed it with wool-packs, or ſacks full of ſtraw, at the place where it ſtruck in order to deaden the blow, and prevent its effect. A machine was alſo made uſe of for this purpoſe called the wolf, by way of oppoſition to the ram, with which they endeavoured to grapple it in order to draw it to themſelves, or break it. The tortoiſe was alſo another ſort of machine, which we muſt not confound with that the ſoldiers made with their bucklers. It was uſed as the ram, and made in the ſame manner, except that at the place where the ram's head ſtood, its beam was armed with a piece of iron, bent in the manner of a claw, with which ſtones were pulled out. Both the ram and tortoiſe were generally covered with a moving gallery of carpenter's work, mounted upon broad and low wheels, for puſhing it forwards or drawing it back at diſcretion, and covered with clay or turf, to prevent its being ſet on fire.

Veget. l. 4. c. 14.

The *Baliſta* was a very large engine in the nature of a croſs-bow, with which they diſcharged ſtones that weighed ſix-ſcore pounds. Joſephus relates, that at the ſiege of Jeruſalem there were baliſtas of ſufficient force to throw ſtones two *ſtadia*. Appian ſays, that Sylla, in the war with Mithridates, had engines of this kind, that diſcharged twenty large leaden balls at once. The ſame engine was alſo uſed for diſcharging large darts called *Falarica*, or fire-darts, of which the end was armed with a large ſquare point of iron, three feet long, and very

Appian. de Bell. Mith.

ſharp, wrapt round with tow ſteeped in oil, ſulphur and other combuſtibles, which were diſcharged blazing. They had alſo another kind of fire-darts, called *Trifax*, from having three points: it was diſcharged by another kind of machine called *Catapulta*. That called a *Scorpion*, was alſo a ſmall croſs-bow carried in the hand, and ſo called, becauſe the iron points of the darts it diſcharged were extremely ſmall and ſharp like the ſting of the ſcorpion. However we find in Ammianus Marcellinus, that a machine for throwing flints and other ſtones was called alſo *Scorpion*.

Com. Cæſ. l. 7. The Romans as well as the moderns knew the uſe of crow-feet for incommoding the cavalry, and of pontons for paſſing rivers. The pontons, which were little boats, were placed upon wheels, and uſed as waggons to carry the baggage. They were taken off the wheels, when it was neceſſary to make bridges of them.

II. *Of fortifications.* As to the manner of fortifying places, it conſiſted in ſurrounding them with walls, of greater or leſs height and thickneſs, with battlements at top, and flanked with towers at the diſtance of fourſcore or an hundred feet from each other, and ſometimes without foſés round them. But the beſt-fortified had broad and deep ones, with draw-bridges at the gates, which were alſo defended by towers. They had no occaſion for any other defence for advanced works, there being no machines that produced ſuch terrible effects as thoſe of powder.

The attack of places depends on the manner in which they are fortified: thus when there were no foſés, and the walls were not very high, they immediately endeavoured to ſcale them by the

the means of the tortoiſe. It was formed in different manners, and on different occaſions: that for ſcaling conſiſted in making the ſoldiers advance by platoons to the walls, cloſing their ranks and covering their heads with their bucklers; ſo that the firſt ranks ſtanding upright, and the laſt on their knees, their bucklers diſpoſed one above the other like tiles, formed all together a kind of ſloping roof, upon which all that was thrown from the top of the walls ſlid off without hurting the troops underneath. In theſe operations the hollow bucklers uſed by the infantry, were more uſeful and commodious than any other. Upon this roof of bucklers other ſoldiers were made to mount, who covering themſelves in the ſame manner, endeavoured to drive away thoſe who appeared on the walls with their ſpears, and to get upon them by raiſing up one another. When the walls were too high to be ſcaled by the tortoiſe, they had recourſe to ladders, which they placed againſt the walls and ramparts, and climbed up, under favour of the arrows, darts, and ſtones diſcharged againſt thoſe who defended them. For this purpoſe they had ladders of different forms, always higher or lower by two feet than the walls they intended to ſcale. Beſides the uſual ladders, there were others which took in pieces, and ſome made of cords, with iron hooks at the end of them, to lay hold of the walls. There were others that folded together by opening and ſhutting; and ſome that had a little ſentry-box at top, into which ſome one was put to diſcover in ſafety what the enemy were doing upon the rampart. As the moſt uſual manner of attacking places was by eſcalade, pains had been taken to invent whatever could facilitate

III. *The tortoiſe for ſcaling walls.* Tac. l. 3. & 4. Liv. l. 44.

IV. *Manner of attacking places.*

facilitate the ſucceſs of it: for there was ſtill another kind of ladder, that ran upon wheels, to be moved forwards or drawn back occaſionally, on the top of which was a little bridge for paſſing to the ramparts, when there was a ditch at bottom. If there was water in the foſſés, they had others planted in barks; theſe they called *Sambucæ*. When the place was too well fortified to be taken by eſcalade, they ſurrounded it with lines of circumvallation, and even contravallation, if they apprehended being attacked from without. They afterwards erected platforms or cavaliers as high as the walls, and as near as poſſible to the beſieged, upon which machines for diſcharging darts and ſtones were planted. They alſo uſed moving towers of wood, which were made to approach the ramparts, and on which ſoldiers were placed who diſcharged ſtones and darts, under favour of which the foſsé was filled up, and the rams brought forwards to make a breach. Theſe towers were covered with plates of iron at the parts moſt expoſed, in order to make them leſs liable to fire. The ſoldiers carried on their works under the cover of certain mantelets, called *Vinea & Pluteus*. The firſt was ſixteen feet long, eight broad, and ſeven high, and was compoſed of planks of a light wood covered with hurdles, and over them with raw hides or a little earth to defend them from fire. The other was made only of hurdles of oſiers, covered with nothing but raw ſkins, and fixed on three wheels, the one in the midſt, and the two others at the two ends, for the facility of turning it any way. The troops carried on their approaches, and the workmen broke ground under theſe mantelets: beſides which to ſhelter them from the darts and ſtones,

Comm. Cæſ. l. 7.

Tac. l. 12.

Liv. l. 23.

Veget. l. 4.

ſtones, curtains made of large cords or cables were placed before the workmen, which laſt invention had a wonderful good effect againſt the diſcharges of ſtones. The ſoldiers uſed alſo another precaution to break and deaden their force: this was to cover their helmets with wicker. Cæſ. de bell. civ. l. 2.

V. *Mines for throwing down ramparts.*

Though the Romans did not know gun-powder, they however made uſe of mines for demoliſhing walls. In order to that, they dug a kind of caves under the works they deſigned to throw down; and in proportion as they advanced under the foundations, they prop'd them with pieces of wood, covered with combuſtible matter to which they ſet fire; and as thoſe props conſumed, the walls, that had nothing to ſupport them, fell in, and in that manner formed a new breach for an aſſault, beſides thoſe made by the rams and tortoiſes. The beſieged in that caſe, when it was in their power, and they were not preſſed too hard, threw up other intrenchments and new walls behind thoſe thrown down, which were attacked in the ſame manner.

Beſides the ram and tortoiſe, all the other machines of which we have now ſpoke were equally uſed in attacking and defending places. For the defence of places againſt aſſaults and eſcalades, the beſieged employed great ſtones, wheels, and even waggons with four wheels full of heavy things, which they rolled down from the top of the works upon the beſiegers, as they did tuns full of earth, and cylinders of ſtones. They made uſe alſo of all kinds of artificial fires, compoſed of the moſt combuſtible matters, in order to ſet on fire the machines of the enemy. When they approached the ramparts, they

they alſo threw boiling oil and burning ſand, prepared expreſsly at great fires, upon them. The engineers, in defending places, uſed not only the machine called the *wolf*, that was made like ſheers and nippers, with which they endeavoured to ſeize or break the ram; but invented new ones, according to occaſion, for oppoſing thoſe of the beſiegers, as the famous Archimedes did in the defence of the city of Syracuſe againſt the Romans.

Beſides the tortoiſe mentioned above, there was another of a different kind, which the troops formed with bucklers in the open field, to defend themſelves againſt darts and arrows. Plut. in vit. Anton. Dio Caſſ. l. 49. According to Plutarch, M. Antony uſed it againſt the Parthians, to cover himſelf againſt the prodigious quantity of arrows, which they diſcharged upon his troops. That tortoiſe was made in this manner: the legionary troops took the light-armed troops into the midſt of them: thoſe in the front rank had one knee upon the ground, holding their bucklers upright before them; thoſe of the ſecond rank put their ſhields over the heads of the firſt; and thoſe of the third covered the ſecond in the ſame manner. The reſt did the ſame, taking care to place their ſhields one above another, as tiles are ranged, ſo that they formed a kind of roof with their bucklers, which being a little hollow, joined eaſily into each other, and thereby ſheltered them from the arrows, and principally from thoſe diſcharged in the air, as the Parthians ſhot them.

VI. *Of the tortoiſe in the open field.*

When a battle was reſolved on, the ſignal was made by hoiſting a red coat of arms over the general's tent. Veget. l. 3. c. 5.

Though

VII. *Order of battle.*

Though the order of an army in battle, and the diſpoſition of the troops, depend on the ſituation of places, circumſtances, occaſions, and even the manner in which the enemy are drawn up; however each nation had its peculiar manner. Scipio Africanus, as Polybius informs us, drew up his troops in his battle with Aſdrubal in Africa in the following manner. According to the cuſtom of the Roman diſcipline, he placed the *Haſtati* in front, the *Principes* next, and the *Triarii* in the rear. He poſted the Italian cavalry on the right wing, and the Numidians on the left: which ſhews, that it was the cuſtom of the Romans to draw up their armies in three lines, of which the third was the rear-guard or body of reſerve. The Roman legions always formed the main body, or centre of the army, the oldeſt legion having the right. The allies and auxiliary troops compoſed the two wings: the Roman horſe, divided by brigades, was poſted ſo as to cover the right wing, and that of the allies the left: each wing was commanded by a lieutenant-general. The army of Pompey was thus drawn up in three lines at the battle of Pharſalia. Every foot-ſoldier occupied five foot of ground, that he might have room to move his arms and to act: and care was taken to leave a certain ſpace between the *Haſtati*, and *Principes* who formed the ſecond line, did not keep ſuch cloſe order, and occupied more ground; in order that if the *Haſtati* were broke, and obliged to give way, they might retire amongſt the *Principes*, without putting them into confuſion, or diſordering their ranks. The *Triarii*, who compoſed the third line, obſerved the ſame method. The *Velites* were placed in the ſpaces between

Polyb. l. 14.

Polyb. l. 2. Cæſ. Com. l. 1.

Plut in vit. Pomp.

between the battalions of each line: they advanced and began the battle by skirmishing, as has been said already.

The manner of fighting of the first Romans was by platoons, each composed of a maniple. Marius changed this order of battle, and formed battalions consisting either of three maniples, or an whole cohort.

The general posted himself in the centre between the *Principes* and *Triarii*, accompanied by his guards and the veterans, who, at his request, continued to serve under him: for which reason they were called *Evocati*. They were distributed sometimes amongst the ranks to animate and sustain the new soldiers. It was customary before they armed for a battle, to rub themselves with oil, in order to render their members more supple and active, and less sensible to cold in winter.

Polyb. l. 3.

Plut. in vit. Brut. Suet. in vit. Cæs.

The army did not fail before they began the action, to sacrifice to the Gods, in order to render them propitious; and the *aruspices* consulted the entrails of the victims, to know the event of the battle. It was at this instant, that the officers and soldiers, who desired it, made their wills by word of mouth in presence of their comrades. There was no occasion for any other ceremony in military testaments, which were received in law, and declared as valid as others. But only those whose names were upon the roll of the troops, had this privilege: those who only followed the armies did not enjoy it. Before beginning the action, the Consul or general harangued the troops to encourage them to behave well; but not as historians repeat those discourses. For most authors, writing in the times

VIII. *Military wills.* Festus.

Tac. l. 2.

when the art of eloquence was highly in eſteem, have endeavoured, in adorning and enlarging them, to leave poſterity proofs, that they were not leſs excellent orators than hiſtorians. When the diſcourſe was at an end, the trumpets ſounded the charge, and the troops immediately raiſed a great cry in token of alacrity, which was called the cry of war. Dio Caſſ. l. 47.

As long as the Romans made war at the gates of their city, it was the cuſtom to carry the wounded thither, who were diſtributed amongſt the richer citizens, none endeavouring to exempt themſelves from that care and expence. There were no phyſicians in thoſe times at Rome, who, as every body knows, were afterwards ſurgeons alſo. During the Commonwealth, there were none in the Roman armies: the ſoldiers dreſſed each other's wounds with known remedies uſed in the city. The antient citizens, who had almoſt all ſerved in the armies, did the office of phyſicians. It does not appear that under the Emperors, there were any phyſicians in the armies, as there are ſurgeons in ours; but the Emperors carried their phyſicians to the army with them. The Romans, in the time of the Commonwealth, did not ranſom the priſoners of war, conceiving a facility in that reſpect might be of dangerous example; and that it was better to leave them under the neceſſity of conquering or dying, As to the booty, the oath thoſe in the camp were made to take, not to ſecrete any thing, and to deliver every thing they found into the hands of the Tribune, was ſo religiouſly obſerved, that none failed to carry the plunder they took to the Tribune of each legion. This was publicly ſold, and the money diſtributed, Tac. l. 4. Liv. l. 2.

distributed, not only to the troops who had been present in the action, but to the soldiers of the same army, who were either sick, or had been detached on some other expedition. If the army happened to be divided into two bodies, as was usual when some city was to be plundered, that which continued under arms, had an equal share in the spoils with the other that took them: so well was discipline observed.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

I. *Of military rewards.* II. *Of military punishments.* III. *Degradation from bearing arms.* IV. *What was observed on quitting the service.* V. *Severity of the military discipline.* VI. *Of the triumph.* VII. *Of the conditions necessary to obtaining a triumph.* VIII. *Description of triumphs.* IX. *Of the ovation, or lesser triumph.* X. *Of the Feciales.*

GREAT actions were soon followed with rewards, in order to inspire the troops with emulation, and at the same time with valour. But the habitude of poverty, which the first Romans had contracted, and the simplicity of their manners, occasioned only valour, and not beneficial rewards, to be annexed to particular actions of valour, that were recompensed with crowns of different kinds. When a general had deserved a triumph, one only of laurel was given him, which he wore on the day of his triumph. But in proportion as that antient simplicity decreased, and the riches of the Commonwealth augmented, magnificence began to appear. For in process of time, the crowns of the generals who triumphed were still of laurel indeed, but enriched with gold wire, and intermixed with leaves of the same metal. Those which the provinces and cities sent them, to serve as ornaments in their triumph, were at first only of laurel; but afterwards they were of pure gold. And this was called *Aurum Coronarium*, which, from being a mere liberality made on the occasion of some victory gained by the Commonwealth, became under the Emperors a kind

I. *Military rewards.*

of tribute or free-gift, as I have said before in speaking of the revenues of the Emperors. The crown given for the lesser triumph called *Ovation*, was of myrtle: that called *Obsidionalis*, which was given to those who had delivered Roman citizens from some siege, was composed only of grass, called in Latin *gramen*; which common herb, that is to be found almost every where, was chosen, in order to express gratitude for so signal a service upon the spot and without delay; the singular honour annexed to it, making amends for the simplicity of the reward.

Liv. l. 7.

The crown called *Mural*, was given him who had first mounted the walls of a besieged city: it was adorned all round with little towers, and was of gold, as well as that called *Castrensis*, which in like manner was given only to those who had been the first in forcing the enemy's camp; the ornaments of it represented palisades, in order to express by what it had been deserved. The Dictator Aulus Posthumius was the first that gave a crown of gold as a military reward to a Roman soldier, who had occasioned the forcing of the enemy's camp near the lake of Regillæ. There were also crowns for exploits done by sea; and these were called *Navales*. They were adorned with little beaks of galleys instead of rays; and were given to those who first boarded the enemy's ships in a sea-fight.

Polyb. l. 6.

The *Civic* crown was given to him who had saved the life of a citizen in battle: it was made of oaken leaves; and it was necessary that the person whose life had been saved, should attest the fact. The citizen who received it might always wear it; and it was in so much honour at Rome, that when he went to the public games, the Roman Senate and People were obliged

Ibid.

Tac. l. 12.

obliged to riſe up on his entrance, and he had a place at the Shews amongſt the Senators. He was alſo exempt from all public offices, as was his father, and uncle by his father's ſide.

Theſe crowns were not the only marks of honour, with which valour was rewarded: they were only annexed to certain particular actions. There were others for ſuch as had alſo given marks of courage, as belts enriched with gold and ſilver, bracelets of the ſame metals, and fine armour. There was alſo another reward, which, notwithſtanding its ſimplicity and ſmall value, was not the leſs honourable on that account: this was the wood of a ſpear, which was called *Haſta pura*. It retained the ſame luſtre which it had in the firſt times of Rome for many ages. Enſigns were alſo given ſometimes: Auguſtus made a preſent of a blue one to Agrippa, after the victory which he gained at ſea over Sextus Pompeius. The horſe had either rich horſe-armour given them, or a ſmall horn of ſilver, which they wore hanging at their breaſts. Statues were ſometimes erected at the public expence, either in the Capitol, the field of Mars, or ſome other place, to perpetuate the memory of thoſe who had done ſome great exploit. Conquered lands and territories were alſo ſometimes diſtributed amongſt the troops, who were diſmiſſed after having compleated the term of their ſervice. During the wars of Pyrrhus and Hannibal, the higheſt * reward given a Roman ſoldier, after the

Liv. l. 10.
Plut. in vit. Coriol.
Suet. in vit. Aug.
Liv. l. 10.
Plut. in vit. Cæſ. & Syll.
Tac. l. 14.

* Mox etiam fractis ætate ac Punica paſſis
Prœlia, vel Pyrrhum immanem, gladioſque Moloſſos,
Tandem pro multis vix jugera bina dabantur
Vulneribus. Merces ea ſanguinis atque laboris
Nullis viſa unquam meritis minor, aut ingratæ
Curta fides patriæ.——— *Juv.* Sat. XIV.

the expiration of the time of his ſervice, was two acres of land, but that was very much augmented afterwards. Auguſtus perceiving the prejudice which theſe diſtributions of lands did the public, and the farther pernicious conſequences they might have, decreed, that for the future the ſoldiers, who had compleated their term, ſhould be rewarded with money, and fixed that of the Prætorian ſoldiers at five thouſand drachmas; and that of the other troops at three thouſand.

Suet. in vit. Aug.

II. *Of military puniſhments.*

If the Romans were ſo ſenſible of the advantages that might reſult from the care they took to reward valour, they diſcerned no leſs the pernicious effects with which too much indulgence, in not puniſhing cowardice and breach of diſcipline with the ſame exactneſs, might be attended. When the ſoldiers fled in battle, or had mutinied againſt their general, they were decimated, as we have ſaid before, and every tenth man upon whom the lot fell, was put to death. Frontinus relates, that in Cato's time ſuch Roman ſoldiers as were catched in a theft, had their right hands cut off, and as to principal perſons, blood was only drawn from them, in order to puniſh them with leſs rigour. In the Conſulſhip of Scipio Naſica and Decimus Junius, the deſerters of the army were publicly whipped, and ſold for ſlaves. The ſeditions of the ſoldiery were puniſhed by breaking a legion or

Tac. l. 3. Liv. l. 1.

Front. l. 4. c. 1.

'Twas then old ſoldiers cover'd o'er with ſcars,
(The marks of Pyrrhus, or the Punic wars)
Thought all paſt ſervices rewarded well,
If to their ſhare at laſt two acres fell;
(Their country's frugal bounty:) ſo of old
Was blood and life, at a low market ſold.

Mr. J. Dryden, junr.

body

body of troops with infamy. The ſame was done in reſpect to a ſingle officer or ſoldier, who had committed any baſe action, that did not deſerve capital puniſhment. He was degraded from bearing arms, as unworthy, and for that purpoſe had the military belt in which his ſword hung, taken from him. If he was a Centurion, he was deprived at the ſame time of the vine-branch, which all the Centurions carried in their hands in the time of the Emperors, and uſed for chaſtiſing the ſoldiers. In the ſame manner, when a perſon would ſerve no longer, he took off his military belt; and if a Centurion, reſigned his ſtaff of vine-branch. If any ſoldiers quitted their ranks, they were immediately puniſhed by the Centurions with their vine-branches; and if they were ſtrangers, and not free of Rome, they were made to undergo the ſcourge. When an whole body of troops had behaved with cowardice on ſome occaſion, their wheat was taken from them; they were reduced to live upon barley for a certain time, and were made to encamp without the works of the camp, expoſed to the enemy, and ſometimes even without ſwords. If a ſoldier happened to return from battle without his buckler, or arms, it was deemed a diſgrace for him, and did not paſs with impunity. If a Tribune was convicted of having ſtolen ſome part of the ſoldiers allowance of corn, he was condemned to die. Even the Conſuls and generals of armies were not exempt from puniſhment, if they had not acted with valour, or done any thing repugnant to the honour of the Commonwealth. This was the caſe of the Conſul Poſthumius, who, to ſave the army, ſhut up in effect of his ill conduct in the paſs called the *Furcæ Caudinæ*, made an igno-

III. *Degradation from bearing arms.*

IV. *What was obſerved on quitting the ſervice.*

Liv. l. 10

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 7. Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 1.

V. *Severity of military diſcipline.*

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 1.

ignominious accommodation with the Samnites; and also of the Consul Mancinus, who for the disadvantagious treaty which he had made with the Numantines, was sent to them bound hand and foot. This manner of punishing and rewarding with so much exactness, was a certain means to form good troops.

VI. *Of the triumph.*

And lastly, the most exalted of military honours was the triumph. It was of two kinds, the great and the less: the latter was called *Ovation*, from the word *Ovis*, because only a sheep was sacrificed in it. The use of the triumph began with Rome, as, according to Livy, Romulus her founder was the first that triumphed, after having defeated the Cecinians and Antemnates. Plutarch however ascribes the institution of it to Tarquinius Priscus. One of the first Consuls, Valerius Publicola, had also that honour: and Probus was the last of the Emperors that triumphed. This pomp so full of barbarous and inhuman pride and ostentation was very repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, and in consequence it was abolished by the Christian Emperors. In the time of the Commonwealth, it was granted only to Dictators, Consuls and Prætors. Those who had the command of the armies only by commission, without being invested with any of these dignities, were excluded from it. Under the Emperors, only themselves and their children enjoyed this honour; leaving nothing more to the generals of their armies, except the ornaments of triumph; that is to say, the triumphal robe. This latter distinction itself began to grow very cheap in process of time, from their facility in granting it to persons who had not deserved it in the least. This was a kind of robbery committed by them upon

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 8.

on merit, and did more prejudice to the empire, than they imagined: for in removing the motive of that emulation for glory, which had made so many great captains in the time of the Commonwealth, they occasioned their becoming more scarce; and that want, in the time of the irruptions of the Barbarians into the empire, precipitated, if not determined, its ruin.

VII. *Of the conditions necessary to obtaining a triumph.* Val. Max. l. 2. c. 8.

The honour of a triumph was not obtained for having terminated a civil war, reduced rebels to obedience, or retaken cities or provinces, which they had conquered, from them. A new conquest was necessary to the attainment of it, and that in the victory which the troops of the Commonwealth had gained, five thousand of the enemy at least, and few of the Romans, had been left upon the spot. It did not suffice for the Tribunes, Centurions, and Quæstors to certify this upon oath; the particular oath of him also who demanded the triumph was required. He marched to Rome with his army to make that demand; but he was obliged to remain without the city, and to divest himself of the command of his army; it being the custom that he should not enter the city, till he had obtained his demand. The first thing he did was to send letters wrapt up in laurel to the Senate, which contained an account of his victory. When the Senate judged that it deserved a triumph, they decreed him that honour; but it was necessary that decree should be approved by the People, though it was the Senate who decreed the money necessary to defray the charges of the solemnity, which was celebrated at the expence of the State. Till the 304th year of Rome indeed, the Senate had been the sole dispensers of this honour: but at that time, having Polyb. l. 6.

refuſed the two Conſuls Valerius and Horatius the honour of triumphs, in revenge for their having favoured the demands of the People, the Tribune Icilius took advantage of that occaſion for extending the power of his office, in laying the demand of thoſe Conſuls before the
Liv. l. 1. People, who decreed it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Senate, in gratitude for their ſervices. They often granted the ſame favour afterwards without the participation of the Senate. At length, when the People were once become the diſpenſers of that honour, their Tribunes knew how to render their conſent to it neceſſary. For if the perſon, who had demanded a triumph of the Senate, to whom however it was always neceſſary to apply firſt, was not agreeable to the People, their Tribunes did not fail of a pretext for preventing the execution of the decree of the Senate, either by oppoſition, refuſing to propoſe it to the People, or even citing him who was to triumph before the People, in order to make him give an account of his conduct; which at leaſt retarded the execution of the Senate's decree, till he had cleared himſelf of the accuſation formed againſt him. In this manner did theſe magiſtrates take advantage of all occaſions that aroſe for augmenting their own power at the expence of the Senate's: but what rendered the People's conſent abſolutely neceſſary, was, that in order to do the perſon who triumphed more honour, it was judged proper to confer the command of Rome upon him for the day of that ſolemnity, which the Senate could not grant alone and without the People. However the power given him upon the day of his triumph, was not ſo abſolute, but that the Tribunes of the People had ſtill

ſome

ſome authority over him, as appears from what Valerius Maximus relates of the veſtal Claudia, who being informed that the Tribunes of the People intended to interrupt the triumph of her father Claudius, whilſt he was in proceſſion with all the pomp of that ceremony, and to make him ſhamefully deſcend from his chariot, broke through the preſs to approach her father, immediately aſcended his chariot, accompanied him to the Capitol, and by that means ſecured him from the inſult the Tribunes deſigned him; for none were permitted to lay hands upon a veſtal, except the great Pontiff. After the day for the ceremony was fixed, the general, who was to triumph, made preparations for rendering his entry as ſplendid and magnificent as poſſible. It is eaſy to believe, that the firſt triumphs had in them much of the ſimplicity of the early times, and of the little riches of the conquered people; but that it was not the ſame, when the Romans had carried their arms into Aſia and Africa, from whence they brought off the riches of the conquerors even of the Eaſt and South; which ſerved to exalt the pomp of triumphs, of which the ſplendor depended principally upon the rich ſpoils of the conquered people. It may be ſaid, that of all the antient ſhews none were ſo pompous, ſo affecting, ſo ſoothing, or could better inſpire the love of glory, than that of the Roman triumphs. The victor, at ſun-riſe, put on the robe of triumph, called *Palmata*, becauſe antiently it was enriched with certain ornaments of the breadth of the Roman meaſure *Palmus*; but in the flouriſhing times of the Commonwealth it was of cloth of gold with a purple ground. It was called alſo *Prætexta*, becauſe it had the ſame form,

Val. Max. l. 5. c. 4.

VIII. *Deſcription of triumphs.*

Triumph. Scip. Afr. in Appian. de Bell. Lybic. Triumph. Pomp. ibid. Plut. in vit. P. Æmil. Joſeph. De Triump Veſpaſian. & Tit.

form, and over it was a mantle or robe, called *Toga picta*, which was of purple, embroidered with figures of gold. The triumpher dreſt in this robe, and crowned with laurel, of which he held a branch in his right hand, but more uſually of palm, made a ſhort harangue to the People, and to his ſoldiers, aſſembled without the city. He then diſtributed his preſents and part of the enemy's ſpoils to thoſe who had behaved valiantly, which his officers and ſoldiers, after having diſplayed in this ceremony, kept with great care, as conſtituting the principal ornament of their houſes. In the mean time ſome Senators, preceded by Lictors with their faſces, ſurrounded with laurel, began the march, followed by trumpets and other inſtruments of muſic. Next came carriages full of helmets cuiraſſes, bucklers, ſwords, pikes, darts, javelins, bows and quivers full of arrows; in a word, all the richeſt and fineſt arms taken from the enemy, which ſeemed mingled confuſedly, though diſpoſed with art, and in ſuch a manner, that the motion of the carriages, making them ſtrike againſt each other, formed by their claſhing together, a ſound of war highly ſuitable to this martial ſolemnity. Other carriages followed, in which were the plans of the cities and forts that had been taken, repreſented in gilt wood, wax, or even ſilver, with inſcriptions in large letters; and great pictures, in which the battle and attacks of places were painted. If there were any ſtatues, vaſes, or paintings, of value, whether as to the materials or workmanſhip, they were certainly exhibited on this occaſion; as were repreſentations of the rivers, mountains, extraordinary plants, and even Gods of the conquered people. Theſe repreſentations either

Plin. l. 15. c. 15.

Suet. in vit. Nero.

either in painting or wax, were borne on a kind of frames by young ſoldiers crowned with laurel; and there were perſons who carried tablets or ſcrolls at the end of long ſtaves, which gave the explanation of them. If there were animals in a conquered country, that were not known in Italy, they did not fail to make them appear in this pomp, without forgetting the other ſpoils of the conquered Kings, as gold and ſilver plate, ſingular curioſities, money coined, and ingots, which were carried either on frames, or in vaſes, by young ſoldiers. Next appeared the white bulls, which were to be ſacrificed, covered with trappings of purple fringed with gold, crowned with flowers with their horns gilt, and attended by the ſacrificers naked to the waſte, and crowned with laurel, carrying axes in their hands to ſacrifice them, and followed by the prieſts who were to aſſiſt in that ceremony. Then came either on carriages or frames the crowns of gold ſent to the general who triumphed by cities, to do him honour, and to expreſs their joy for his victory. In the early times theſe crowns were only laurel, as we have ſaid before. After theſe crowns appeared the Kings or Generals who had been taken, with their heads ſhaved as a mark of their ſlavery, and laden with chains of iron, ſilver or gold, according to the times and the riches of the ſpoils. We find in the triumph of Scipio Africanus, deſcribed by Appianus Alexandrinus, that with theſe unfortunate captives there was a buffoon, dreſt in a long robe, bordered with gold fringes, and laden with chains, bracelets and ſtrings of jewels, who in his words and actions mimicked thoſe miſerable priſoners, to divert the ſpectators. But it is probable ſo entirely

Liv. l. 49.

tirely barbarous a cuſtom was aboliſhed; for in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, deſcribed by Plutarch, no mention is made of it, no more than in that of Veſpaſian deſcribed at large by the hiſtorian Joſephus. When the priſoners of war arrived before the Capitol, they were carried to priſon, where their chiefs and captains were immediately put to death. Next to the priſoners came ſeveral of the principal officers of the army, and then the victor in his Car, preceded by trumpets, and attended by his Lictors crowned with laurel, carrying the faſces adorned alſo with laurel. Before and behind him came perſons carrying cenſers, in which the moſt exquiſite perfumes were burning. His relations and friends crowned in the ſame manner with branches of laurel in their hands, walked before and on each ſide of his chariot, in which he placed his children with him, as Paulus Æmilius did. His chariot was of ivory adorned with relievos, and enriched with gilding, or even with gold. There were ſome of ſolid ſilver chaſed and emboſſed, of which the excellency of the work much exalted the value of the matter. During a certain time, there was a ſlave * behind the perſon who triumphed ſtanding

* Quid ſi vidiſſet Prætorem in curribus altis
Extantem, & medio ſublimem in pulvere circi
In tunica Jovis, & pictæ Sarrana ferentem
Ex humeris aulæa togæ, magnæque coronæ
Tantum orbem, quanto cervix non ſufficit ulla?
Quippe tenet ſudans hanc publicus, & ſibi Conſul
Ne placeat, curru ſervus portatur eodem.
Juv. Sat. X.

What had he done, had he beheld on high
Our Prætor ſeated in mock majeſty;
His chariot rolling o'er the duſty place,
While with dumb pride, and a ſet formal face,

He

ing upright; who held over his head the Delphic crown of laurel, adorned with gold wire, and intermingled with leaves of gold. But this was afterwards changed, and inſtead of the ſlave, a gilt figure was placed upon the back of the chariot, holding a crown of laurel over the victor's head with one hand, and a palm in the other. The Emperors inſtead of this crown of laurel, had one of gold, which ſome of them adorned with precious ſtones. During the Commonwealth it was long a cuſtom, as Pliny tells us, that every thing of the victor's body that appeared, ſhould be painted red, in imitation of the ceremony practiſed in reſpect to the ſtatue of Jupiter Capitolinus, which care was taken to rub with vermilion every feſtival day: but this was ſuppreſſed. Before the time of the Emperors, the chariot of the perſon who triumphed was uſually drawn by four white horſes abreaſt, which he drove himſelf, or at leaſt held the reins. Some medals repreſent them with ſix horſes abreaſt: and ſome, as Pompey, cauſed them by way of diſtinction to be drawn by elephants; others by lions, tigers, or other wild beaſts, which had been prepared expreſsly for this purpoſe. Aurelian, in the triumph wherein Zenobia was a captive, had his chariot drawn

Plin. l. 33. c. 1.

Id. l. 33. c. 7.

Fla. Vop. in vit. Aurel.

He moves, in the dull ceremonial track,
With Jove's embroider'd coat upon his back?
A ſuite of hangings had not more oppreſt
His ſhoulders, than that long laborious veſt.
An heavy gewgaw (call'd a crown) that ſpread
About his temples, drown'd his narrow head:
And would have cruſh'd him with the maſſy freight,
But that a ſweating ſlave ſuſtain'd the weight:
A ſlave in the ſame chariot ſeen to ride,
To mortify the mighty madman's pride. Dryden.

by

by rain-deer, which are animals of the North, much reſembling ſtags. They had before been uſed to draw the chariot of the King of the Goths, whom Aurelian had conquered. It is obſerved alſo, that in the time of the Commonwealth, the victor wore an iron ring on his finger in the ſame manner as ſlaves did, to animadvert to him not to be proud, and that fortune which raiſed him above others might reduce him to the condition of a ſlave. Caius Marius, in his triumph over Jugurtha, had in like manner a ring of iron on his finger; but he afterwards changed that cuſtom, and wore only gold ones in his other triumphs. It is ſaid alſo, that there was a ſlave behind the perſon who triumphed, that admoniſhed him from time to time to remember he was a man. If by his conqueſts he had delivered any Roman citizens from ſlavery, they followed his chariot immediately, with their heads ſhaved and caps on, to ſignify their new freedom. The Conſuls with the other magiſtrates, and the whole Senate, followed on foot; and the march cloſed with the officers of the army, and the ſoldiers armed and crowned with laurel. Thoſe who had received marks of honour in evidence of their bravery, did not fail to adorn themſelves with them. They marched with an air of joy and gaiety, ſome crying *Io Triumphe*, and others ſinging military ſongs in praiſe of the general, or ſatirical verſes, full of raillery againſt him; for this day was privileged, and they were allowed to ſay all they pleaſed without being called to an account for it. This entry was made through the gate called Capena, along the ſtreet called *via Triumphalis*, from being that through

Plin. l. 33. c. 1

Juv. Sat. 10. loc. cit.

Liv. l. 10. Vell. Pat. l. 6. c. 67. Suet. in vit. Cæſ.

through which the perſons who triumphed went to the Capitol, where the pomp ended. Care was taken to erect ſeveral triumphal arches in this ſtreet. When the victor arrived at the foot of the Capitol, he quitted his chariot and triumphal robe, ſacrificed the white bulls to Jupiter, and laid the palm or laurel, which he held in his hand, and thoſe of his Lictors, at his feet. It is obſerved, that from the time of Auguſtus, the perſon who triumphed carried the ornaments of triumph, and the ſpoils, to the temple of Mars the avenger. He alſo gave largeſſes to the People: after which began the feaſt made at the expence of the public, to which all the principal perſons of the Commonwealth were invited, except the Conſuls, who were even deſired not to be there, in order that the perſon who triumphed might have precedency at this feaſt, which could not be, if they had been preſent.

Tac. l. 2. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. 2. Plut. Quæſt. Rom. 80. Val. Max. l. 2. c 8.

There were ſeveral triumphs, of which the pomp continued during three days. The naval triumph was attended with the ſame preparations and ceremonies. One of the privileges of thoſe who had triumphed, was to have a right to wear the crown of laurel at the public ſhews. The Senate paſſed a decree in favour of Julius Cæſar, when he was Dictator, by which he was permitted to wear a crown of laurel always, even in the Senate. It is obſerved, that of all the decrees which flattery cauſed to be made in his favour, none gave him more ſatisfaction than this; becauſe he was bald, and this crown covered that deformity. The laſt triumph of the Roman Emperors was that of Probus, which Crinitus deſcribes after Vopiſcus. It was not, properly ſpeaking, a triumph, but only the diverſion

Dio Caſſ. l. 43.

verſion of hunting ſeveral ſorts of beaſts, which the Emperor gave the people for ſeveral days in the Circus, and which ended with a combat of gladiators, compoſed of part of the priſoners of war whom he had taken.

IX. *Ovation.* As to the leſſer triumph, called *Ovation*, it required much leſs preparation: for the perſon who triumphed made his entrance on foot and not on horſeback, and only to the ſound of flutes, not of trumpets. He was preceded by the ſoldiery with olive branches in their hands, and was dreſt in a white robe bordered with purple, with a crown on his head, to imply that the action had not been bloody. The Senate, Knights, and principal Plebeians aſſiſted at it, and the march ended at the Capitol, where rams were ſacrificed. The firſt who had the honour of this triumph, was the Conſul Poſtumius Tubertus, after having defeated the Sabines about the 253d year of Rome. This honour was granted to thoſe who had gained ſome advantage either over the enemies of the State, which had coſt little, and had not terminated the war, or over enemies of little conſideration, and unworthy of the Roman arms, as pirates, or elſe when a war had not been declared in all the forms.

Aul. Gell. l. 5. c. 6.

Dion. Hal. l. 5. c. 8.

X. Feciales. Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 19. It was the cuſtom of the Romans under the Kings, and during a great length of time under the Commonwealth, not to undertake a war, without having firſt ſent heralds, called *Feciales*, to demand ſatisfaction for the wrong which they ſuppoſed to have been done them: without that precaution, the war would not have been deemed juſt, and they would have deduced very bad omens from it. When they were refuſed the

satisfaction they demanded, the same *Feciales* declared war in the name of the Roman People; and as a mark of that declaration they threw a bloody javelin, tipt with iron or burnt at the end, into the frontier of the enemy's country. King Numa instituted these heralds or priests; for they acted in the capacity of both. Their collegue consisted of twenty, at the head of which was a chief called *Pater patratus*. The laws of war, which was never made without consulting them, were deposited in their hands. They ratified truces and treaties of peace, by sacrificing an hog, which they loaded with curses, desiring that those who infringed the treaties might be struck in the same manner; and it was upon this occasion that they discharged the function of priests. This religious ceremony made them consider the war which they undertook as sacred and very just; at least it prejudiced the People to think so, and animated them with vengeance, in the hope that the Gods would favour their cause, and that consequently they could not fail of success. This idea strongly implanted in the minds of the soldiers, might contribute considerably to victory. To know how to employ religion for the success of their enterprizes, was an effect of their usual policy, especially in the beginning of their greatness; for they were exact observers of the appearances of justice no longer than till they perceived themselves superior in force to all their neighbours, as has been already observed. Numa, in instituting the college of *Feciales*, and all the other ceremonies of religion, shewed himself no less a politician than his predecessor Romulus, in the form of government which he

Dion. Hal. l. 2. c. 19.

Plut. Quæst. Rom. 62.

gave his little ſtate; the religion of the Romans having been inſtituted only to ſoften and correct the diſpoſition of the People. Polybius confirms this clearly enough, in ſaying, that if a Commonwealth could be formed, that conſiſted ſolely of wiſe and reaſonable people, the many ſuperſtitions which had been introduced amongſt the Romans, would not be neceſſary, and that they had been placed in ſuch conſideration only upon account of the People. And indeed, all the perſons of ſenſe amongſt them, acknowledged the vanity of a religion, which degraded the Divinity ſo much, in attributing all the vices of man to him, and formed a different idea of it from the common people, as we find in Cicero's treatiſe *De Natura Deorum*, and elſewhere. The actions of ſome perſons are new proofs of what I advance. We may judge of this from what the Conſul Claudius Pulcher did, who to comply with the vulgar ſuperſtition, conſulted augury before he gave battle at ſea. Having ordered the coop, in which the ſacred chickens were kept, to be brought to him, he cauſed grain to be thrown to them, as was the cuſtom in taking the augury, and ſeeing that they did not move to eat; he threw coop and chickens into the ſea, ſaying, *If they wont eat, let them drink.* He does not ſeem by this action to have given much faith to the ſcience of the augurs, of which the Romans in general were however ſuch ſcrupulous obſervers. But thoſe who were at the head of the government, knew how to uſe it with dexterity for giving the neceſſary turn to the diſpoſition of the People. Policy was ſo much the foundation and end of

Polyb. l. 6.

Val. Max. l. 1. c. 4.

of their religion, that they adopted the Gods of the different nations which they ſubjected to their empire, in order to render their yoke the lighter, and to accuſtom them to it by gentle methods. It is true that they all agreed in one general principle, which was idolatry; and that there was no difference between them, except in the objects of worſhip, and ſuperſtitious uſes.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

Of the religion of the Romans; of the different Shews, and of the cuſtoms obſerved in them.

CHAPTER I.

I. *Of the religion of the Romans.* II. *Of the Pontiffs.* III. *Of the Augurs.* IV. *Of the Aruſpices.* V. *Of the Veſtals.* VI. *Functions of the Veſtals.* VII. *Puniſhment of the Veſtals, for breaking their vow of virginity.* VIII. *Privileges of the Veſtals.* IX. *Liberty of the Veſtals.* X. *Superb train of the Veſtals.*

I. *Of the religion of the Romans.*

THE Romans, as well as the Greeks, acknowledged different claſſes of Divinities. The Gods of the firſt claſs, who, as well as all the reſt, depended on Fate or Deſtiny; thoſe of an inferior order, and all the other minor Divinities; thoſe who preſided over places; thoſe which they aſcribed to every Being, and even to moſt actions, that were ſo many *Genii*, to whom they aſcribed either the maſculine or feminine ſex, and rendered a particular worſhip, according to the nature of the thing, the need they believed they had of it, or the caprice of their devotion. In a word, the number

St. Aug. de civit. Dei.

ber of Gods was so great at Rome, that, alluding to the statues erected in honour of Divinities, and of persons who had rendered services to the Commonwealth, it was said, the inanimate inhabitants of that city were more numerous than the animate, though the latter amounted to several millions.

Rome in its beginning had no idols, according to Plutarch; for Numa Pompilius had given them so sublime an idea of the Divinity, that they considered every representation of him under an human form as sacrilege, saying that men could attain to the knowledge of the Divinity only by the understanding. Accordingly, during almost two hundred years, no figure or painting of any Divinities was seen at Rome, though temples in which they were worshipped were erected to them. They had the use of idols, or statues of the Gods, either from the Tuscans or Greeks, from whom they imbibed all their superstitions: but that multitude of Divinities still augmented, when of all the Emperors that died they made so many Gods. This was the effect of a shameful flattery, which they carried so far as to admit, during their lives, into the number of Divinities, not only virtuous Princes, but even those who were notorious for their vices. Plut. in vit. Num.

II. *Of the Pontiffs.*

All these Divinities had their peculiar Priests, who depended on the college of Pontiffs. The number of the latter was fifteen, of whom the eight first had the title of Great Pontiffs, and the seven other *Minor* Pontiffs, though they made together but one Body, of which the Chief was called Supreme Pontiff, or *Pontifex Maximus*. In the first institution made by Numa, they were but four, elected out of the Patrici- Plut. in vit. Num.

ans; four others were afterwards adopted, and were all Plebeians. Their number was augmented to fifteen by Sylla the Dictator; which subsisted till the Emperor Theodosius, who entirely abolished them. This college superintended every thing that related to religion, and took cognizance of all the differences which it occasioned. It also regulated the worship and ceremonies, and explained the mysteries of religion. It was also a part of their duty to write the Roman history in a simple style, year by year. The Pontiffs were considered as sacred persons; and by way of distinction took place of all the magistrates. They presided in all the games of the Circus, Amphitheatre, and Theatre, exhibited in honour of some Divinity. When there was any vacancy in their college, it was filled up by the person elected by plurality of voices; which continued the custom under the Commonwealth for the space of six hundred and fifty years. The office of *Pontifex Maximus* was conferred in the same manner, till Domitius Ænobarbus, Tribune of the People, transferred that right to the People assembled by Tribes: but the Emperor Augustus restored to this college the right of electing their collegues. These dignities were conferred only upon persons of the first distinction, as well as that of Supreme Pontiff, which office during the whole time of the Commonwealth was filled only by persons of the first rank. It was of so much importance from the extent of its authority, that the Emperors assumed it to themselves, from whenceforth it always remained attached to their persons.

Liv. l. 10.

Dio Cass. l. 53.

Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 12.

Suet. in vit. Aug.

III. *Of the Augurs.* The first sacerdotal dignity next to the Pontiffs, was that of the Augurs, which also formed a col-

a college consisting of fifteen. It owed its institution to Romulus, who at first created only four of them, of the order of the Patricians. It was afterwards composed of five, who were Plebeians. This college had also the same fate as that of the Pontiffs, as well in respect to number as the right of election, which the Tribune Ænobarbus transferred from them to the People, and which was restored to them by Augustus, upon condition that the persons elected should have the approbation of the Prince. This dignity was in the higher consideration, because the Romans, who were extremely superstitious, scarce undertook any thing, without having first consulted the Augurs, in order to know the will of the Gods, not so much through the desire of conforming to it, as to be informed whether they should succeed in their enterprizes: for the Augurs were looked upon as the interpreters of the Gods. They judged of it from the flight and singing of birds, and the manner in which the sacred chickens eat their corn, which, if greedily, was a sign of success and good fortune, but if they would not eat, it denoted the contrary: they also used all the objects that occurred for the same purpose. It was a mere cheat to amuse the People, as well as the *Aruspices*, who were also ministers of their superstitions, that judged of the good or bad success of enterprizes, by inspecting the entrails of victims that were sacrificed. It was for this reason that the Pontiffs offered no sacrifice, without having an *Aruspex* with them to examine the entrails of the victim, and give his judgment upon them. The imposture of both the one and the other was so well known by people of sense, that Cato said, he could not conceive

Liv. l. 10.

IV. *Aruspices.*

how the Augurs or *Aruſpices* could look at each other without laughing. Beſides theſe miniſters of religion, of which we have juſt ſpoke, there was alſo an order of Prieſteſſes, called *Veſtals*, from the name of the Goddeſs *Veſta*, to whoſe ſervice they were conſecrated. This order was in great conſideration, and the more reſpected, becauſe it was the guardian with whom the ſacred pledge was depoſited, to which the Roman ſuperſtition had annexed the ſafety and duration of the State. It was Numa Pompilius, who having cauſed a temple to be erected at Rome to the Goddeſs Veſta, inſtituted that order, which was maintained at the public expence. Their origin was ſtill more antient than that city, as the mother of Romulus and Remus was a Veſtal. There were at firſt but four; Tarquinius Priſcus added two more, at which number they were fixed ever after. As it was neceſſary that they ſhould be virgins, they were taken at an age not ſuſpected, which was between ſix and ten, after which they were not admitted. It was the Pontifex Maximus who received them; and when they did not offer themſelves voluntarily to fill up a vacant place, he made choice of twenty children of the age required. But it was neceſſary, that they ſhould not only be exempt from all corporeal defects, but even have ſome beauty, and be of an ingenuous Roman family; for thoſe of all other cities were excluded. They were made to draw lots, and ſhe upon whom it fell was admitted.

V. *Of the Veſtals.*

Plut. in vit. Num. Dion Hal. l. 2. c. 17.

Plut. in vit. Rom.

Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 2.

As few parents of diſtinguiſhed birth were much inclined to offer their daughters to be Veſtals, becauſe they apprehended the dangerous conſequences of ſo long a continence, Auguſtus

Suet. in vit. Aug.

guſtus made a regulation, by which the daughters of freed-men were admitted into this order.

They were made to take a vow of virginity for thirty years, after which they were at liberty to marry if they pleaſed. The ten firſt years were employed in learning the duties and ceremonies of their office; the ten following in exerciſing them; and the ten laſt in teaching them to novices. The eldeſt of the Veſtals, who was called the Great Veſtal by way of eminence, had an abſolute ſuperiority over the reſt. Aſſoon as a child was admitted a Veſtal, her head was ſhaved as a ſign of her being made free, as was the cuſtom in reſpect to ſlaves whom their maſter ſet at liberty: for from thenceforth ſhe was no longer under the juriſdiction of her father, and young as ſhe was had power to make her will, and diſpoſe of her fortune as ſhe thought fit: but if ſhe died a Veſtal without having made her will, the Order inherited it. Plut in vit. Num.

Their habit had nothing gloomy and auſtere in it: it was a kind of white veſtment, over which they wore a long and full purple robe or mantle, that hung uſually moſt over one ſhoulder, in order to have the other arm at liberty. Their head-dreſs was as particular: it came no lower than the ears, and diſcovered the whole face. They faſtened ribbands to it, which ſome tied under the chin. In proceſs of time, they made their hair ſerve for the ornament of their heads, curling and adjuſting it in ſuch a manner as they judged moſt proper for exalting their beauty.

VI. *Functions of the Veſtals.*

Their function was to make vows, pray, and ſacrifice, for the proſperity and preſervation of the State, and to keep the Palladium, which was conſidered as the ſacred pledge of the duration Herod l. 1.

tion of the Empire, as alſo the ſacred fire, which they were obliged to keep perpetually burning in the temple of Veſta, and preſerved in earthen veſſels. Thoſe who ſuffered this fire, which ſhould have been eternal, to go out through negligence or otherwiſe, were puniſhed with a whip by the *Pontifex Maximus*, who alone had a right to chaſtiſe them, and who with the college of Pontiffs was their natural judge. This accident was deemed very ominous. When it happened, Rome was in ſo great a conſternation, that all affairs ceaſed for that day. The cuſtom was to re-kindle this fire only with the rays of the ſun through a burning-glaſs.

VII. *Puniſhment of the Veſtals for breaking their vow of virginity.* Plut. in vit. Num.

But when any one was convicted of not having kept her vow of virginity, ſhe was puniſhed with a peculiar kind of death, as well as the accomplice of her crime. He was whipped till he expired under the laſhes; and as for her, a kind of cave was dug in a part of the city near the gate *Collina*, into which, after a ſmall bed with a lighted lamp, a little bread, water, milk, and oil, were placed in it, ſhe was made to deſcend by a ladder that was immediately taken away. The entrance of the cave was afterwards cloſed, which ſerved her for a grave, and where ſhe ſoon after died of hunger.

Plut. Qu. Rom. 96.

The conſternation of the city augmented exceedingly at this time, the ſuperſtition of the Romans making them believe, that the State was threatened with ſome great calamity. The whole city was in mourning that day: the ſhops were ſhut; a mournful ſilence reigned univerſally, which argued their profound ſadneſs. It is obſerved, that during the ſpace of about a thouſand years, which this Order ſubſiſted, from Numa down to Theodoſius the Great, who abo-

liſhed

liſhed it with the Pagan prieſthood in general, only eighteen ſuffered this puniſhment. If the faults of this Order were puniſhed with ſo much rigor and ſeverity, the prerogatives and honours it enjoyed were alſo very great and extraordinary: for if any one had dared to offer a Veſtal the leaſt inſult, he would have been puniſhed with death. The reſpect paid them was ſo great, that when the principal magiſtrates, and even the Conſuls, met them, they gave them place, and made their Lictors bow the *faſces* to them. They alſo had Lictors to clear the way for them, after violence had been offered to a Veſtal returning at night from ſupper in the city. When this Order, by the augmentation of their revenues, was in a condition to appear with ſplendor, they never went abroad without being carried in litters.

VIII. *Privileges of the Veſtals.* Plut. in vit. Num.

Amongſt the privileges which had been granted them, they had one peculiar to themſelves; for if they happened to meet ſome criminal carrying to execution in their way, he was immediately pardoned, provided the Veſtal affirmed, that mere chance had occaſioned it. Their evidence was received in like manner in the courts of juſtice, and the opinion conceived of their probity cauſed it to be reſpected. When any difference aroſe between perſons of the firſt rank, recourſe was had to them for accommodating it. Wills were depoſited in their hands, as in a ſacred and inviolable *aſylum*. The right of interment in the city was conferred upon them by way of honour, which was very ſeldom granted, even to thoſe who had done great ſervices to the State.

IX. *Liberty of the Veſtals.*

Continence being conſidered in the Pagan world as a virtue very difficult to practiſe, to ſoften

ſoften the rigor of it, the Veſtals were allowed abundance of liberty. For they could receive men at home in the day-time, and women at all times; they could go to ſupper abroad with their friends and relations; and had liberty to be preſent at the Shews, where they had diſtinguiſhed places. And if they were obliged to wear a peculiar kind of habit, they made themſelves amends by a ſtudied neatneſs, and the magnificence of their equipage. St. Ambroſe tells us, that when they appeared in public, they were attended by a numerous train of domeſtics of both ſexes: but this was not till after that Order had enriched itſelf by the pious donations of the Romans, who often left legacies to the Veſtals in particular, and enabled them to ſupport that exceſſive pomp and luxury, which roſe and augmented in proportion with the Roman power. For though from the firſt they were conſidered as ſacred perſons, that diſtinction was not ſuſtained by the ſplendor, which it had in proceſs of time, through the indigence of the Order and of the State itſelf in thoſe early days.

Suet. in vit. Aug.

X. *Superb train of the Veſtals.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

I. *Of the Duumviri who kept the books of the Sybils.* II. *Of the Quindecimviri.* III. *Of the worſhip paid to the Gods.* IV. *Origin of the public games.* V. *Public thankſgivings for good ſucceſſes.* VI. *Of the ſacred games.* VII. *Funeral games.* VIII. *Games of the Circus.* IX. *Deſcription of the Circus's.* X. *Chariot-races.* XI. *Horſe-races.* XII. *Foot-races.* XIII. *Of dancing.* XIV. *Of the Pyrrhic dance.*

I. *Duumviri who kept the books of the Sybils.*

NEXT to the dignities of religion, the moſt diſtinguiſhed of thoſe which related to them, was that of the Duumviri, whom Tarquin, the laſt King of the Romans, created expreſsly for keeping the Sybil's books, which he had bought. Thus this dignity was more antient than the Commonwealth itſelf. It ſubſiſted as long as Paganiſm, not having been aboliſhed, till the reign of the Emperor Theodoſius, when an end was put to it with the reſt of the Pagan ſuperſtitions. Theſe officers became ſo much the more important amongſt the Romans, as they imagined the preſervation of the State depended in ſome meaſure upon the oracles confided to their care. For, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, they had nothing ſo ſacred, nor nothing which they kept ſo religiouſly, as the oracles of the Sybils, contained in theſe books. They were conſulted by order of the Senate when the city was afflicted with plague, famine, or agitated with ſeditions; when the State had experienced ſome great misfortune; when prodigies appeared, or the au-

Val. Max. l. 4. c. 14.

guries were difficult to explain. This was the function of these officers; but they were not permitted to consult these mysterious books, except by an order of the Senate, who besides added some public ministers to assist them in it. It was the business of the *Duumviri* to report to the Senate what had been found in them, and to propose the means for appeasing the wrath of the Gods, in order to avert the threatened calamities from the Roman People, by offering the sacrifices and prayers directed in these books. This dignity was for life: it exempted those who possessed it from carrying arms, and all other civil offices. Tarquin created only two at first, who were of the Patrician order, which was continued under the Commonwealth, till the 386th year of Rome, when the Tribunes of the People prevailed that those officers should be ten in number, of whom half should be elected out of the Plebeians, and then they were called *Decemviri*, upon account of their number.

Liv. l. 6. & 10.

II. *Of the* Quindecimviri.

Sylla the Dictator afterwards added five, which occasioned their being called *Quindecimviri*. Julius Cæsar added one more; and Augustus afterwards, being impowered by the Senate to add as many as he thought fit to the sixteen, the number amounted to forty or sixty; though according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, only the *Duumviri* were permitted to select and consult the books of the Sybils. We find however in the life of Aurelian by Vopiscus, that the Pontiffs sometimes consulted them; perhaps they were also invested with this dignity of Quindecimviri, or that power had been granted them.

Dio Cass. l. 51.

The

The worſhip of all the Divinities of Paganiſm was not confined to ſacrificing animals in honour of them, wherein thoſe offered to the celeſtial Gods where white, and thoſe to the infernal black; but it conſiſted alſo in public holidays, on which feaſts were ſometimes made in honour of the divinities, that ſerved at the ſame time for diverſions. Policy knew how to adapt itſelf in this manner to the genius and character of the nation, and to amuſe the People, when it had no longer any enemies to fear. III. *Of the worſhip paid the Gods.*

Almoſt all the public games celebrated at Rome were ſolemnized in effect of vows, which the Romans had made to ſome Divinity in ſome imminent danger or conſiderable misfortune. Thus after the defeat of Varus in Germany, Auguſtus promiſed Jupiter to cauſe games worthy of his greatneſs to be celebrated, if he repaired that loſs. It was at theſe times the devotion of the Romans diſtinguiſhed itſelf moſt. We ſee that through the darkneſs of Paganiſm they acknowledged the impotence of mankind againſt the wrath of heaven, as they endeavoured to appeaſe it by ceremonies, prayers and ſupplications. Polybius relates, that after the loſs of the battle of Cannæ, the conſternation was ſo great at Rome, that all the matrons ran to the temples of the Gods to implore them to preſerve it from the misfortunes, with which it was threatened; and that proſtrate at the feet of thoſe divinities they ſwept the pavements of the temples with their hair. He obſerves further, that it was a common cuſtom with them to do ſo in times of calamity. IV. *Origin of the public games.* Suet. in vit. Aug. Polyb. l. 9. Liv. l. 2.

The Romans ſeemed to acknowledge the Divinity no leſs in their good ſucceſſes, by the thankſgivings they rendered on thoſe occaſions. For V. *Public thankſgiving for good ſucceſs.*

For in all the conſiderable advantages which the Commonwealth gained over the enemy, the Senate never fails to decree prayers and proceſſions in all the temples of their Gods, even for ſeveral days together, according as thoſe advantages were more or leſs great. The Senate, under the Emperors, often decreed them out of baſe flattery, to applaud their crimes, and return the Gods thanks for them: their pictures and ſtatues were carried in theſe proceſſions. Ideas that ſuited the Divinity ſo little, agreed perfectly with the extravagance of the worſhip they uſually paid him, wherein nothing entered but what was adapted to flattering all the paſſions, even the groſſeſt; to which they believed their Gods were ſenſible as well as men. It was for this reaſon, that they imagined nothing could be more agreeable to them than theſe games: and they were the more apt to be confirmed in this opinion, as it ſuited their own natural inclination for all Shews. Thoſe which they called the great, or the Roman, games, had been inſtituted on occaſion of a vow made by the Dictator Aulus Poſtumius, when he was upon the point of giving the Latines battle, who had revolted in order to reinſtate Tarquin upon the throne. The pomp of theſe games is amply deſcribed in the ſeventh book of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, chapter the third. The Scenic games were alſo an effect of a vow made to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the 387th year of Rome, in the time of a plague. Such was the origin of the games of the Circus, theatre and amphitheatre, which were all included under the general name, of the *ſacred games*, becauſe relative to ſome Divinity; and *funeral games*, becauſe celebrated in honour of ſome perſon of diſtinction after

Liv. l. 10.

Tac. l. 14. & 15.

Liv. l. 4. & 7.

VI. *Sacred games.*

VII. *Funeral games.*

after their death, to the manes of whom they ſuppoſed that thoſe games were agreeable, as well as uſeful for appeaſing the wrath of the infernal Gods.

VIII. *Games of the Circus.*

Thoſe of the Circus were foot, horſe, or chariot-races. There were ſeveral Circus's at Rome. Theſe were vaſt edifices in the form of an oblong ſquare, of which one of the ends was made round, and the other, from whence the racers ſtarted, much leſs ſo. Along the midſt of it ran a kind of continued pedeſtal the greateſt part of its length, which roſe ſome feet above the ground, and divided it almoſt in two equal parts, upon which ſtood in a row the figures of ſome divinities, with altars very near them. At the end of this ſtone-work the bounds or goals were placed at a ſufficient diſtance for turning eaſily round them. But in the great Circus, which was between the Palatine and Aventine hills, the middle was adorned with an obeliſk of great height. This Circus was dedicated to the ſun, and is ſaid to have been two thouſand one hundred and eighty-ſeven feet in length, and nine hundred and ſixty broad. The circumference of this ſtructure within ſide was covered with a wall in form of a key, at the foot of which ran a canal full of water, of the breadth of ten feet; and above this wall, in form of an amphitheatre, roſe ſeats that were continued quite round the pile, on which the ſpectators ſate, but expoſed to the weather; for theſe Circus's had no roofs. That of which we are ſpeaking could contain an hundred and fifty thouſand people, and, according to ſome authors, above two hundred thouſand. As it was conſecrated to the ſun, it was the

IX. *Deſcription of the Circus's.*

cuſtom, when races were ran in honour of him, that the chariots ſhould be drawn by four horſes abreaſt; and when of the moon, only with two. All the chariots made uſe of in racing had more commonly two wheels than four. The ſwiftneſs * of the horſes alone was not ſufficient for carrying the prize, if it was not ſeconded by the addreſs of the driver: for it was neceſſary to run ſeven times round thoſe boundaries, and to take great care in turning not to come too near them, leſt the chariot ſhould be daſhed in pieces againſt them: At the ſame time in keeping too far from them, they ran the riſque of being cut out by a competitor, who knew how to take the advantage of that interval. The drivers of theſe chariots were generally ſlaves, though there were times when perſons of the higheſt quality drove them to pleaſe ſome Emperors, who were fond of theſe races, as Emperors themſelves often did alſo. The charioteers, for ſo theſe drivers were called, were divided into four bands, diſtinguiſhed by the colours of their habits, as white, red, blue, and green. The Emperor Domitian, who delighted much in theſe games, added two more to them, the gold and the purple. The people often eſpou-

X. *Chariot-races.*

Suet. in vit. Neron. Tac. l. 15.

Suet. in vit. Dom. Tertull. de Spectac. c. 6.

Tac. l. 14.

* Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegiſſe juvat; metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos.

Hor. L. I. Od. i.

Some view with a delighted eye
Thick clouds of duſt around 'em fly;
While their contending chariots roll,
And nicely ſhun th' Olympic goal.
Where races won, and palms beſtow'd
Exalt a monarch to a God.

ſed

ſed * one of theſe bands with ſo much heat, as ſometimes occaſioned great tumults.

XI. *Horſe-races.* Suet. in vit. Cæſ.

Amongſt the horſe-races ran in the Circus, there were ſome of a ſingular kind: theſe were horſemen who rode horſes without ſaddles, leading one in their hand, upon which they leaped as they ran, changing horſe often in the race, after the manner of the Numidians. In the foot-races, there were perſons who ran compleatly armed, as if going to battle, in order to ſhew their ſtrength and agility the better.

XII. *Foot-races.*

The foot-race was one of the five ſorts of games called *Gymnic*, which were alſo practiſed in the Circus. The four others were Boxing, Wreſtling, throwing the Diſcus or quoit, and Dancing. The Boxers, as well as the Wreſtlers or *Athletæ*, for that name was common to both, fought ſtark-naked, except the former, who wore only a kind of little drawers, and becauſe they ſtripped themſelves in this manner to be the fitter for battle, and the more active, theſe games were called *Gymnic*, from a Greek word which ſignifies naked. The Boxers, ſo called

* Totam hodie Romam Circus capit: & fragor aurem
Percutit; eventum viridis quo colligo panni.
Nam ſi deficeret, mœſtam attonitamque videres
Hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis
Conſulibus. ——— *Juv.* Sat. XI.

This day all Rome (if I may be allow'd,
Without offence to ſuch a num'rous croud,
To ſay all Rome) will in the Circus ſweat;
Ecchoes already do their ſhouts repeat:
Methinks I hear the cry ——Away, away,
The Green have won the honour of the day.
Oh, ſhould theſe ſports be but one year forborn,
Rome would in tears her lov'd diverſion mourn;
For that would now a cauſe of ſorrow yield,
Great as the loſs of Cannæ's fatal field. Congreve.

becauſe they fought with their fiſts, were of two kinds, thoſe who fought with their bare fiſts, or thoſe whoſe hands were armed with a kind of gauntlets made of thongs of ſtrong leather. Theſe were *Ceſtiphori*, becauſe this kind of armour or gauntlet was called *Ceſtus*. This laſt kind of combat was rude, ſcarce ever terminating without the death of one of the two combatants. As to the Wreſtlers, they combated naked, and rubbed themſelves with oil before they entered the liſts, that they might not eaſily be laid hold on. This kind of combat conſiſted at leaſt as much in addreſs as force, and was not ſo cruel as the other. The victory was adjudged to him who had thrown his antagoniſt, and continued his maſtery over him. There were people whoſe profeſſion it was to teach theſe exerciſes: this laſt was ſo much in vogue, that it was not only practiſed in the public games, but in houſes; for people exerciſed themſelves at Wreſtling in the galleries of the baths. As to the *Diſcus*, it was a kind of quoit, proper to exerciſe the arm, and render it ſtronger. It was round and flat, very heavy, made of ſtone, lead, or braſs; he that threw it higheſt or fartheſt, according to agreement, won. The *Athletæ* did not confine themſelves only to Wreſtling; they exerciſed themſelves alſo in leaping; and he who leaped fartheſt was the victor. But as for the Dancing of the Romans, we have no very diſtinct idea of it: all that we know of it is, that they did dance, and that one of their dances was called *the Pyrrhic Dance*, which was a military one. It was danced in arms, and the actions of fighting were expreſſed in it. The Emperor Adrian often gave this kind of dance to the People in the great Circus,

Suet. in vit. Calig. Montfauc. Antiq.

Suet. in vit. Aug.

XIII. *Of dancing.*

XIV. *The Pyrrhic dance.*

Spartian. in vit. Adr. Dion. Hal. l. 7. c. 13.

cus, as well by men as women-performers, who were armed with ſwords of box inſtead of iron. Beſides all theſe games, which were peculiar to the Circus, thoſe called *the Trojan Games* were exhibited there, which were a kind of tournaments or carouſals. The firſt Cæſars, affecting to derive themſelves from Æneas Prince of Troy, often gave them to the People, in order to renew the remembrance of their origin. Theſe games were celebrated by the children of the principal nobility, at the age of fourteen or fifteen. They had at their head him whom the Emperor had nominated *Prince of the Youth*, who was alſo of the ſame age. This title was uſually given only to him who was conſidered as the Emperor's ſucceſſor, or to one of his near relations. The Circus's were alſo uſed for hunting wild beaſts, and even for repreſenting ſea-fights; though for the laſt there were particular ſtructures, called *Naumachiæ*. Curious creatures, brought to Rome out of curioſity from all parts of the world, were ſhewn there: but the races, and eſpecially thoſe of chariots, were the principal and moſt uſual games of the Circus.

Suet. in vit. Tib. Calig. & Claud. Suet. in vit. Cæſ. Tac l. 11. Suet. in vit. Claud.

CHAPTER III.

I. *Of the Scenic games, or games of the theatre.* II. *Description of the theatres.* III. *Of dancing.* IV. *Of the masks of the actors.* V. *Of the mimes.* VI. *Of the pantomimes.* VII. *Of music.* VIII. *Of rope-dancers.* IX. *Of the games of the amphitheatre.* X. *Of the chace.* XI. *Of fishing.* XII. *Excessive passion of the Romans for the Shews.*

I. *Scenic games, or games of the theatre.*

THE games called *Scenic*, because consisting principally of tragedy and comedy, were represented upon the theatre. This was a great edifice, not less magnificent and solid than the Circus, and still more adorned. It was composed of two parts, of which the one formed a semicircle and the other a square. The semicircular part of it was filled with benches, which rose one above another, upon which the Spectators placed themselves; and the square part which fronted it was called the scene or stage, on which the actors performed. It was raised five feet higher than the lower end of the semicircular part, which was called the *Orchestra*, in which were the most honourable seats. The spectators were exposed in it to the injuries of the weather; but to prevent that, it sometimes happened during the Commonwealth, and often enough under the Emperors, that the theatre was covered with cloths, sustained by poles and strained cords. Though the Romans had learnt from the Greeks the manner of building their theatres, the distribution of them was however different. Those magnificent theatres were not erected so soon as the Scenic games were introduced at Rome: they

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 4. Plin. l. 36. c. 15. Montfauc. Antiq.

II. *Description of the theatres.*

Dio Cass. l. 43. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 4.

they were not built till long after, as well as the ſtructures for the other Shews. For when the public games were firſt exhibited, it was in the Forum, where the ſpectators ſtood. Afterwards edifices of wood were erected; and when the games were over, they were taken down, and the work ſerved for other repreſentations. C. Flaminius was the firſt that built a theatre of ſtone, in the 599th year of Rome, for the repreſentation of comedies and tragedies. They multiplied there afterwards as well as the Circus's, Amphitheatres, and *Naumachiæ*. As to theſe laſt ſtructures, their number was not ſo great as that of the reſt. The Emperors ſometimes took the occaſion of theſe Shews, at which they were preſent, to diſpence extraordinary liberalities amongſt the People, by cauſing billets to be thrown amongſt them, each marked with a lot, which was punctually delivered to the bearers of them. Marcus Aurelius, in effect of his regard for the Roman people, cauſed handkerchiefs to be diſtributed to them in the theatre, to wipe the ſweat off their faces, and to expreſs their applauſes. The Scenic games were intermixed with dances, as making a part of the worſhip of their Divinities: * dancing itſelf

Tac. l. 14. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 4.

Vopiſc. in vit. Aurel.

III. *Of dancing.* Val. Max. Dion. Hal. l. 7. c. 13.

* ——————(Liciniæ)
Quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris,
Nec certare joco, nec dare brachia,
Ludentem nitidis virginibus *ſacre*
Dianæ celebris die. *Hor.* L. II. Od. xii.

Licinia fair, the pride of Rome,
How well her charms and arts become!
How movingly her beauty pleads,
When toying ſhe and richly dreſt,
At great Diana's ſolemn feaſt,
Begins the dance, *and leads the beauteous maids.*
Creech.

being peculiarly annexed to the worſhip of ſome of them. It was moſt practiſed at theſe feſtivals and public Shews; for the Romans gave no balls, and only ſent for dancers by profeſſion of both ſexes, to divert them during their entertainments; but the gueſts had no ſhare in thoſe dances. The Shews and ceremonies of religion ſerved them inſtead of our ordinary pleaſures.

Liv. l. 7. The games of the theatre began amongſt the Romans by a kind of dramatic poem, more filled with groſs buffooneries, than good pleaſantries, which they called *Feſcennine verſes*, and in which there was ſo little art, that the people were diſguſted with it aſſoon as a very imperfect theatrical piece appeared. Livius Andronicus, born in Greece, compoſed and cauſed it to be repreſented at Rome the 514th year from its foundation, a time when the Romans began to conceive a taſte for the ſciences, and to ſoften the roughneſs of their manners. Though the comedies and tragedies of the antients have contributed much to the improvement of thoſe of our age, we muſt not however imagine, that there is not a great difference between them, as well in reſpect to manners and cuſtoms, as the manner in which they were repreſented. Several treatiſes have been publiſhed ſome time ſince upon the theatres of the antients, to which the curious may have recourſe: it ſuffices to obſerve here, that the actors both of comedy and tragedy uſed maſks upon the ſtage, which were not made like thoſe uſed in theſe days. They were entire heads larger than the life, with which they covered their own as with an helmet, and under which they could ſpeak without difficulty. We muſt alſo obſerve that they

Val. Max. l. 2. c. 4.

IV. *Actors maſks.*

they also had actors unknown amongst us, whom they called mimes and pantomimes. The former represented every kind of actions without speaking, only by gesture, and played interludes to divert the spectators, whilst the actors either rested themselves, or were otherwise employed. The pantomimes also played mute interludes; but with this difference, that they counterfeited all things by the motion of the body in dancing. Thus the Scenic games were of different kinds, tragedy, comedy, satire, mimes and pantomimes.

V. *Mimes.* Suet. in vit. Vesp. Tac. l. 14.

VI. *Pantomimes.*

The first actors who appeared at Rome were only players of farces or strollers, and dancers or tumblers, from Hetruria. They were indebted to their knowledge of the Greek theatre for their taste of good comedy, and comedians to represent it. These Shews, which till then were very gross and void of art, were scarce inferior to those of the Greeks, amongst whom the authors of dramatic pieces were often the principal actors in them; the profession of an actor having nothing dishonourable in it in their sense, and not excluding them from the great offices of the State. It was not the same amongst the Romans; every citizen was prohibited to mount the stage. It was not only a matter of exclusion from the offices of the Commonwealth, but an action that merited correction, and for which the Censor would not have failed to remove the culpable from his tribe. Under the Emperors indeed this law was not always observed with so much strictness as under the Commonwealth: for Suetonius tells us, that Augustus sometimes employed Knights in the representation of comedies. However, as the extreme

S. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 2. c. 13.

Suet. in vit. Aug. Tac. l. 43.

extreme taſte, which the young Nobility had taken for the Scenic games, was obſerved afterwards to have made them ſuch great admirers of good actors, that they took pleaſure in imitating them, and induced them to aſſociate themſelves with them in a manner little ſuitable to their rank; a regulation was made under the Emperor Tiberius, to prohibit all Senators from going to the houſes of comedians, and all Knights from appearing in the ſtreets of Rome with them.

Tac. Ann. l. 1.

The manner of repeating dramatic poems accompanied with flutes and other inſtruments, and the meaſure, *or notes*, obſerved in pronouncing them, occaſioned muſic's becoming an eſſential part of them. Their inſtruments of muſic, though almoſt all of them either ſtring or wind-inſtruments, were however different from ours. We do not find that the muſic of the Romans, which they had borrowed from the Greeks, conſiſted of different parts; and it ſeems probable that it was only uniſon, or full chorus. Neither had they the uſe of notes; which were not invented till the eleventh century by *Guido d'Arezzo*, to ſupply which they made uſe of a ſeries of tones and ſemi-tones, to which they gave different names. F. Sanadon maintains, that all that relates to the harmony of the antients is ſufficiently explained; and refers to Mr. Wallis's Tract at the end of his edition of Ptolomy in 1682, intitled, *Appendix de Veterum Harmonia ad hodiernam comparata*. That learned commentator maintains againſt Mr. Dacier, that the muſic of the antients is not entirely loſt, and that the theory of their different ſpecies of muſic is perfectly known. Mr. Burette has ſeveral memoirs, which clear up this matter,

VII. *Muſic.*

Note 5. *in Od.* 9 *l.* 5.

ter, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions and *Belles Lettres*.

The Romans alſo brought buffoons on their ſtage who performed ſingular tricks: they called them *Præſtigiatores*, becauſe they in reality did ſuch ſurprizing things, as ſeemed of the nature of magic and conjuration. If we may believe not only Pliny, but ſome of the fathers of the Church, thoſe who follow the ſame buſineſs in theſe days are mere bunglers and novices compared with them. There were ſome of theſe jugglers, who by the help of certain machines flew in the air, and others, who taught wild beaſts to ſhew tricks. In the time of the Emperor Nero, elephants were ſeen at Rome that walked and danced upon the rope; others that had been taught to dance the Pyrrhic dance, which as we have ſaid before was a military dance; and ſome, which holding ſwords in their trunks, fought with each other after the manner of gladiators. They had alſo rope-dancers. It is quoted as an inſtance of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius's humanity, that being one day at the theatre when a rope-dancer unfortunately happened to fall, he ordered mattreſſes to be placed underneath. From thenceforth care was taken to ſpread a net under the cord to prevent thoſe who fell from receiving any damage.

Dio Caſſ. l. 60. Suet. in vit. Galb.

VIII. *Rope-dancers.* J. Capit. in vit M. Aur.

The tumblers and mountebanks became ſo common at Rome, that they ſold their mithridate in the market-places, and played tricks to draw people together: but it was not till after Rome was become the miſtreſs of the world, that theſe kind of people abounded there. Moſt of them were ſtrangers, and almoſt all of the

Eaſt;

East; that country having always produced more than any other.

IX. *Of the games of the amphitheatre.*

As to the games of the amphitheatre, they were either chaces, combats of gladiators, of wild beasts, or of men that fought with them. These last combats were different; for there were gladiators, who attacked them at once with their arms, without any other precaution; and in consequence it often happened that these either came off very much hurt, or perished. Others less rash employed art, and had recourse to various stratagems for avoiding the first fury of those beasts, and finding a favourable occasion to wound them with less danger. For this purpose some made use of great globes of osier, which they rowled before them; others had great bucklers of osier, stuck with the points of reeds, which pricked those beasts when they came furiously to bite and tear the combatants to pieces with their teeth, who lying dexterously upon the ground under this buckler, wounded them with security. They had also other stratagems, which shewed their address, and gave the spectators more diversion. The places where these shews were exhibited, were not the same as those where the Scenic games were represented. They were called amphitheatres, because the form of these vast edifices was like that of two theatres joined together; for they were generally oval within and without. However that called *Colliseum*, which was the largest at Rome, and was capable of containing four-score and seven thousand spectators, was round without and oval within. The midst of this edifice, which was called *Arena*, from the sand which care was taken to strew there for the convenience of the combatants, was surrounded with

Cassiod. l. 5. Ep. 42.

with a wall or kind of key from the height of twelve to fifteen feet, in which vaulted places were contrived, wherein the wild beaſts, intended for the ſhews, were kept. Above this wall roſe the benches, one above another, on which the ſpectators ſate, and which run quite round the whole circumference to the top, but there were ſeparations to mark the different ſtories and diſtinguiſh the places. The firſt row or bench was the place of the Emperor, the Senators, and the Veſtals; and leſt the wild beaſts, as tigers, leopards, and bears, might climb up to it, or be thrown into it in fighting, the whole circumference of this firſt row was covered with croſs bars to ſecure the ſpectators from the beaſts; and for their greater ſecurity, at the bottom of the wall quite round the *arena* there was a canal full of water, in order that the beaſts might not approach it. The facility which this canal afforded of laying the whole bottom of the amphitheatre under water, occaſioned its being ſometimes uſed for the repreſentations of ſea-fights, as in the *Naumachiæ*. Combats of the ſame kind were ſometimes exhibited in the great Circus, in effect of the canal that ſurrounded it; which was the reaſon that there were not ſo many *Naumachiæ* erected at Rome, as Amphitheatres and Circus's.

Wild beaſts of different ſpecies were made to fight there with one another, or with men who were commonly either gladiators, or criminals condemned to be executed in that manner. If they came off victorious, they were acquitted of their crimes. There were alſo perſons, who hired themſelves for theſe combats, and others who out of mere oſtentation of their ſtrength and addreſs, offered themſelves voluntarily.

The

The chaces, or hunting, in the amphitheatre, were a diverſion given the people, and one with which the Emperors often gratified them: for every one that thought fit was ſuffered to enter the *Arena*, and to kill the game turned into it for that purpoſe, as wild-boars, ſtags, and deer, and to carry them off. This hunting pleaſed the Roman citizens more than that in the foreſts, to which they were indifferent enough during a conſiderable length of time. For it appears that they did not conceive a taſte for it, till their intercourſe with the Greeks, who took great delight in it; nor do the Romans ſeem much given to it however, except under ſome Emperors, who loved that ſport. It is ſomething extraordinary, that being ſo fond as they were of the exerciſes of the body, they ſhould not have more taſte for hunting. The manner of it amongſt the Romans was the ſame as amongſt the Greeks, from whom they had learned it. They hunted the great game, that is to ſay, ſtags, wild-boars, roe-bucks, and fallow deer, with dogs, and the huntſmen had the pleaſure of chaſing them on horſeback, and of killing them with darts and javelins, or ſhooting them with bows and arrows. They alſo followed this chace * with nets, with which they formed an incloſure, and drove the prey into it

X. *Hunting.*

Suet. in vit. Tit. J. Capit. in vit. Gordion. Vopiſc. in vit. Prob. Spart. in vit. Adr.

* Aut trudit acres hinc & hinc multa cane
Apros in obſtantes plagas. *Hor.* Ep. 2.

But when the blaſt of winter blows,
And hoary froſt inverts the year,
Into the naked woods he goes
And ſeeks the tuſky boar to rear.
With well-mouth'd hounds and pointed ſpear;

Then drives the foaming ſavage to the toils,
And glories in his ſpoils. *Dryden.*

with

with dogs, whom the huntſmen ſuſtained on foot, armed with javelins, darts, and ſwords, which they uſed for killing it, when, by the help of the dogs, they could come near enough. It is obſerved that the ſwords uſed for hunting, were much longer than thoſe for war. They uſed alſo dogs for courſing, and had others alſo for driving the hare into the nets. Their uſual manner of taking the game, conſiſted in different kinds of ſnares with nets and gins. Birds were principally taken with the latter; and ſometimes they ſhot the largeſt flying with the bow and arrow. No author mentions, that hawking was in uſe amongſt them.

XI. *Of fiſhing.*

Fiſhing was alſo a diverſion, for which they ſeem to have had more taſte than for the chace; which might proceed from their not believing, that they ate well if they had no fiſh. It was for this reaſon that their country houſes were not eſteemed, except well ſupplied with reſervoirs * of water for fiſh; beſides which ornaments of water are highly eſteemed in hot countries. In their country-houſes ſituate near the ſea, the ſalt-water was brought into reſervoirs, where they alſo preſerved ſea-fiſh. Their manner of fiſhing was with nets, and the line. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 1.

But to return to the Shews of the Romans: they borrowed moſt of them from the Greeks, and only augmented and retrenched ſome things from them, to adapt them to the taſte and genius of their nation. Their natural inclination for them growing ſtronger by habit, made them at Dio. Hal. l. 7.

* ——————Undique latiùs
Extenta viſentur Lucrino
Stagna lacu.—————— *Hor.* L. II. Od. xv.

New moats are dug, large ponds we make
That rival e'en the Lucrine lake. Creech.

length

length so passionate for these diversions, that under the Emperors the People of Rome required nothing but bread and shews, principally those of the Circus and Amphitheatre. Though we might believe this inclination was natural to them, if we go back to the first games celebrated by their founder Romulus, by the help of which the rape of the Sabines succeeded: however the moderation, which authors remark they retained for these amusements during upwards of four ages, in which they were indeed employed in continual wars, might give room to believe, that the excessive passion which they expressed in the sequel for Shews, proceeded only from the idleness of the inhabitants of that great city, after it was become the mistress of the world, and at the same time from the bad example of some of her Emperors, who were fond of them to madness. All these amusements, which propagated the idleness of the People, only enervated their bodies, corrupted their minds, and made them degenerate from the valour of their ancestors. It is observed in consequence, that from the time these Shews became so common, the inhabitants of Rome were no longer so fit to make soldiers as before; and that when they came to serve, they were found to be the worst troops of the empire. This was first perceived at the battle of Pharsalia, in which the army of Pompey, composed chiefly of Roman citizens, could not stand their ground against Cæsar's soldiers. And that degeneracy only increased afterwards.

Juv. Sat. 10.

XII. *Excessive passion of the Romans for the shews.*

Tac. l. 14.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

I. *Of the Apotheoſis.* II. *Of funerals.* III. *Incombuſtible cloth.* IV. *Of ſepulchres.* V. *Of the tombs called* Hypogea. VI. *Of mourning.* VII. *Of Gladiators.* VIII. *Diſcharge or exemption of Gladiators.* IX. *Gladiators made free.* X. *Gladiators that ſerved in the army.*

FROM the time that the Romans, through an exceſs of flattery, placed their Emperors in the number of the Gods, their Apotheoſis became one of the moſt pompous ceremonies of their religion. I. *Of the Apotheoſis.*

The firſt of the Romans, who was ranked in the number of the Gods after his death, was Romulus: but he was obliged for that in a great meaſure to the oath of the Senator Julius Proculus, who affirmed that he ſaw him aſcend to heaven. He invented this circumſtance to cover the aſſaſſination committed by the Senators, who could not ſupport the rigid manner, with which that Prince governed them, and to prevent the People, who loved him, from avenging his death.

From the time of Romulus till that of Auguſtus Cæſar, the Romans had no thoughts of the Apotheoſis; when the latter took it into his head to revive it in the perſon of Julius Cæſar his father by adoption, with all the ceremonies obſerved afterwards, which Herodian relates at large, on the occaſion of the Apotheoſis of the Emperor Severus. I ſhall join the account of that hiſtorian, with what other authors tell us upon the ſame head. Auguſtus then

was the firſt who inſtituted it; and Tiberius eſtabliſhed it in favour of the Emperors only: the Empreſſes alſo had the ſame privilege afterwards.

The firſt thing that was done, was to cauſe this conſecration to be authorized by a decree of the Senate, which placed the Emperor in the number of the Gods, and ordained that temples ſhould be built, ſacrifices offered, and divine honours paid to him. The Prince who ſucceeded to the empire generally took care to cauſe theſe laſt honours to be rendered to his predeceſſor. Herodian deſcribes the Apotheoſis as a feſtival, wherein mourning, joy, and worſhip had place. For aſſoon as the Emperor was dead, the whole city went into mourning; the body was interred in the uſual manner, but with abundance of pomp, and a figure of wax, which perfectly repreſented the deceaſed, with a pale viſage, as if he was ſtill ſick, was laid upon a bed of ivory, covered with cloth of gold, in the porch of the palace. The Senate in mourning robes continued on the left ſide of the bed during great part of the day; and on the right were the ladies of quality, married and unmarried, in large white robes quite plain, without jewels on their necks or arms. The ſame order was obſerved ſeven days together, during which the phyſicians approached the bed from time to time, as if to conſider the ſick prince, and found him perpetually declining, till at laſt they declared him dead. Upon that the moſt illuſtrious of the Roman Knights and the junior Senators carried him upon their ſhoulders thro' the ſtreet, called the *Via Sacra*, to the old *Forum*, where a painted alcove of wood had been erected. The Emperor and magiſtrates

Herod. l. 4.
Dio Caſſ. l. 56.

ſate

ſate down in the open place, and the ladies under the porticos, whilſt choirs of muſicians ſung the praiſes of the deceaſed. After the Emperor had pronounced the elogium of his predeceſſor, the bed with the figure upon it was carried out of the city into the field of Mars in the following order. The march began by thoſe, who carried the ſtatues of all the illuſtrious Roman captains from Romulus; after which came the figures of the provinces ſubject to the Roman empire, repreſented in bronze. The images of thoſe who had rendered their names famous by their virtue or learning followed. Then the Knights and Roman ſoldiery marched under arms; followed by a great number of race-horſes, and the preſents made by the provinces, cities, and perſons of diſtinction to adorn this ſolemnity, moſt of which conſiſted in ſpices, odours, and perfumes. The ſoldiers carried an altar covered with ivory, and adorned with gold and jewels. The Emperor who ſucceeded, followed the bed of ſtate to the field of Mars, where the funeral pile had been prepared. It was of timber, in the form of a pavilion of four or five ſtories gradually diminiſhing like a pyramid to the top. The inſide was full of combuſtibles, and the outſide covered with cloth of gold, compartments of ivory, and fine paintings. Every ſtory was in the form of a portico, ſupported with pillars; and on the top was repreſented the gilt chariot uſed by the defunct Emperor. This is ſtill to be ſeen on the medals ſtruck on the occaſion of this kind of ceremonies. Thoſe who bore the bed of ſtate wherein lay the wax-figure of the deceaſed Emperor, delivered it into the hands of the Pontiffs, who placed it on the ſecond ſtory of this pile; and

round the bed all ſorts of perfumes, odours, fruits, flowers and fragrant herbs were laid in heaps. After this all the horſe, who had been prepared for this ſolemnity, rode in a certain order in rings, obſerving a kind of time reſembling that of the Pyrrhic dances. Theſe are Herodian's words, that is to ſay, that they formed a kind of tournament or carouſal. Chariots were made to run alſo in the ſame order, whoſe drivers wore purple robes, and in which were the images of the Emperors, whoſe reigns had been happy, and of the generals of great fame.

When all this pomp was paſſed, the new Emperor with a torch in his hand went and ſet fire to the pile, as the principal magiſtrates did alſo on all ſides. The flames ſoon ſeized ſo many combuſtibles; at which time an eagle was let fly from the top of the ſtructure, if an Emperor was conſecrated; or a peacock, if an Empreſs; which flying up in the air in the midſt of the flames and ſmoke, went, as the people believed, to carry the ſoul of the late Emperor, or Empreſs, to heaven. From thenceforth they had their altars and worſhip like the other Gods.

It muſt be obſerved, that though Herodian ſpeaks only of the figure of the Emperor, Dio Caſſius tells us, that his body was upon the ſame bed, but without being ſeen. The firſt hiſtorian ſays, that the corpſe was burnt before; but the ſecond deſcribing the Apotheoſis of Auguſtus, affirms, that there was a bed of gold and ivory with a purple covering enriched with gold, in which was the body of Auguſtus, that was not ſeen, and that his ſtatue was placed upon this bed.

Dio Caſſ. l. 56.

The

The Apotheosis being only a sequel of the funeral, we ought to have spoke of the latter first: but such details would have interrupted the plan we proposed to ourselves in this work, which was, not to separate matters relating to the same subject, in order to the reader's forming more clear and less confused ideas of it.

II. *Funerals.*

Few nations ever were more religious and exact in paying the last duties to their relations and friends, than the Romans. They omitted nothing, that might express how dear the memories were to them, and contribute at the same time to render them honourable. This was an acknowledgment of the services rendered their country, or an homage paid to virtue, in order to excite their fellow-citizens to deserve the same honours by their great actions. Pliny says, that funerals were sacred ceremonies amongst the Romans. They began from the moment the person had breathed his last. At that instant, it was necessary that the nearest relation, or if married, that the survivor, husband or wife, should give the dying person the last kiss; as if to receive their soul, and that he or she should close their eyes. The same hand opened them also upon the funeral pile, in order that they might seem to look up to heaven. They took care also, in closing their eyes to shut also their mouths, to render them less ghastly, and to make them seem like one sleeping. The deceased's ring was also taken off, which they put on again, when the body was laid upon the pile. They called him often by his name with a loud voice, to know whether he was really dead, had fainted, or was seized with a lethargy. They afterwards applied to the undertakers

Plin. l. 11. c. 37.

(*Libitinarii*) to perform the funerals, according to the will of the deceaſed if he had directed any thing upon that head, or that of the heirs and relations, at more or leſs expence as they thought fit. Theſe *Libitinarii* ſold and ſupplied all that was neceſſary in ſolemnizing
Plut. Qu. Rom. 23. funerals. They were ſo called from having their magazine at the temple of Venus *Libitina*. In that temple were kept the regiſters of thoſe who died in Rome; and it was from them that the number of perſons, who were ſwept off by the plague one autumn in Nero's reign, was taken. Theſe undertakers had people under them called *Pollinctores:* the corpſe was firſt put into their hands, which they waſhed with hot water, and embalmed with perfumes. They muſt have known the manner of embalming to a much higher degree of perfection even than the Egyptians, if we may believe accounts of ſome tombs diſcovered at Rome about two hundred years ago, in which bodies were found ſo well preſerved, that they might have been taken rather for perſons aſleep, than dead; but that the ſmell which came from thoſe tombs was ſo ſtrong, that it ſtruck people down. It is conjectured that theſe bodies were embalmed with a mixture of myrrh or aloes and turpentine. After the body had been embalmed in this manner, it was dreſt in the common white habit, that is to ſay, the *Toga*. However, if the deceaſed were a perſon who had paſſed through the great offices of the Commonwealth, the robe of the higheſt dignity he had poſſeſſed was put on him, and he was kept in that manner ſeven days, during which all that was neceſſary for the pomp of the funeral was pre-
Id. 26.

pared,

pared. The body was expoſed in * the porch or at the entrance of his houſe, in a bed of ſtate with the feet towards the door, where a cypreſs was placed for the rich, and for others only branches of pine, which alſo denoted that a corpſe was there. A man alſo continued with the body, to prevent any thing about it from being ſtole: but when the deceaſed was a perſon of the firſt rank, there were boys round it to drive away the flies. After the ſeven days were expired, a public herald proclaimed the funeral as follows: *This is to give notice to all who deſire to be preſent at the obſequies of ſuch an one, the ſon of ſuch an one, that they go to them directly; for the corpſe is now bringing out of the houſe.* Only the relations or friends of the deceaſed were preſent, unleſs the deceaſed had rendered conſiderable ſervices to the Commonwealth, in which caſe the People attended the funeral: and if he had commanded the armies, the ſoldiers repaired thither, reverſing their arms with the points downwards; the Lictors alſo reverſed their faſces. The corpſe was carried on a little bed called *Exaphora*, when only ſix carried it, and *Octophora*, when eight. They were uſually the relations of the deceaſed, who did this office in honour of him, or his ſons, if he had any. For an Emperor, the bed was carried by the Senators; and for a general, by

Plin. l. 16. c. 33.

Feſtus.

Dio Caſſ. l. 56.

Vell. Pat. l. 1. c. 12.

Dio Caſſ. l. 56.

* Hinc tuba, candelæ: tandemque beatulus alto
Compoſitus lecto, craſſoque lutatus amomo
In portam rigidos calces extendit.

Perſ. Sat. V.

Then trumpets, torches, and a tedious crew
Of hireling mourners, for his funeral due.
Our dear departed brother lies in ſtate,
His clay-cold heels ſtretch'd out before the gate.

Dryden.

officers or soldiers. As to the people of mean condition, they were carried in a kind of open bier by four men who got their living by that
Festus. business. They were called *Vespillones*; because it was customary during a great length of time not to celebrate funerals till the evening: but in process of time they were celebrated by day as well as night. The visage of the deceased was uncovered, with a crown of flowers on his head; unless his sickness had entirely disfigured him, in which case care was taken to cover it. After the masters of the ceremony of the procession had placed each according to his rank, it began by the performers on the flute, who played a mournful air: they were followed by people
Suet in vit. Vesp carrying lighted * torches. Near the bed was an Archimime, who counterfeited the behaviour of the deceased; and all the ensigns of the dignities he had enjoyed, were carried before the bed. If he had signalized himself in war, the rewards and crowns which he had received for his great actions were displayed, as well as the standards and spoils he had taken from the ene-
Polyb. l. 6. my. His busto was also † carried in wax, with those of his ancestors and kindred upon the end of spears or in chariots; unless he was one of those called *Novi Homines*, that is the first Nobles of their family, whose ancestors could do him no honour, which prevented their being
Tac. l. 2. shewn. It was also customary not to cause the bustos of those, who had been condemned for

* Pers Sat III. loco posteriùs citat.

† ——Funus atque imagines
Ducant triumphales tuum.

Hor. Epod. 8.

And let triumphal statues grace
Thy funeral, born with solemn pace.

crimes

crimes to be born on theſe occaſions, though they had poſſeſſed dignities: that was not permitted. All theſe figures were afterwards ſet up again in the place, where they were kept, as we have related above. At the funerals of Emperors, the images and ſymbols of the conquered provinces and cities were carried in chariots. The freedmen of the deceaſed followed this pomp, wearing the cap, which was the badge of their liberty. After them came his children, relations and friends dreſt in black; the ſons had veils on their heads, and the hair of the daughters hung looſe: the latter had nothing on theirs, and walked bareſoot dreſt in white. After them came the *Præficæ*: theſe were women whoſe buſineſs it was to make lamentations for the death of the deceaſed, to ſing his praiſes to mournful air weeping, and ſpeak the ſorrow of all the reſt. When the defunct was an illuſtrious perſon, his body was carried to the *Forum Romanum*, where the proceſſion ſtopped, whilſt one of his children or neareſt relations made his funeral oration. This was not only practiſed in reſpect to men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their employments, but ladies of condition alſo; the Commonwealth having paſſed a decree to permit their being praiſed in public, from the time that, not being a ſufficient quantity of gold in the public treaſury to diſcharge the vow made by Camillus, to give a gold cup to Apollo of Delphi after the taking of the city Veii, the Roman ladies had voluntarily contributed their rings and jewels, as we have ſaid above in ſpeaking of coins. From the *Forum Romanum*, the corpſe was carried to the place where it was either to be burnt or interred; for that depended on what the deceaſed had

Dio Caſſ. l. 56.

Plut. Qu. Rom. 14.

Feſtus.

Suet. in vit. Tiber.

had directed by his will. If it were neceſſary they went to the field of Mars, where this ceremony was uſually performed: for bodies were not burnt in the city. Care had been taken to erect a pile there of yew, pine, and other woods eaſy to ſet on fire, diſpoſed upon each other in the form of an altar, upon which the corpſe was placed dreſt in his robes. They then ſprinkled it with ſcented liquors proper to diffuſe a good ſmell. The face was turned towards the ſky, and a piece of money, which was commonly an *obolus*, put into the mouth, to pay Charon for paſſing the river Styx. The whole pile was next covered on all ſides with cypreſs, when the deceaſed's neareſt relations, turning their backs upon the pile, ſet it on fire with torches which they held behind them; and whilſt the fire ſpread, they threw into it the habits, arms, and other things, in which the defunct had moſt delighted, and ſometimes even gold and ſilver; but this was prohibited by the laws of the twelve tables. However at the funeral of Julius Cæſar, the veteran ſoldiers threw their arms into his funeral pile to do him honour. Oxen, bulls, and ſheep were alſo killed and thrown into the pile; and ſoon after combats of gladiators were exhibited to appeaſe the manes of the dead. The uſe of theſe combats was introduced to ſupply the place of a barbarous cuſtom antiently practiſed in war, which was to ſacrifice the priſoners round the funeral pile of thoſe, who had died in battle, by way of avenging them.

Plut. in vit. Cæſ. Dio Caſſ. l. 56.

The combats of the gladiators were not the only ſhews given on theſe occaſions; chariot-races were ſometimes ran round the funeral-pile; different theatrical pieces were repreſented there; and

and through an exceſs of magnificence feaſts were given to the aſſiſtants and people: but the combats of gladiators were more common than thoſe other ſhews. After the corpſe was burnt, the aſhes and bones not entirely conſumed by the fire were gathered. The deceaſed's neareſt relations or heirs took this care upon themſelves, in order that his aſhes might not be confounded with thoſe of the pile. They uſed the precaution, in putting the body of the deceaſed upon the pile, to wrap it up in a ſpecies of cloth not combuſtible, which the Greeks called *Aſbeſtos*. It came from the Indias, and it is ſaid from *Cathay*. This cloth was made of thread ſpun from a kind of ſtone, which has the property of becoming white in the fire. The bones and aſhes were waſhed with milk and wine, and were put into an urn of more or leſs value, according to the wealth or quality of the defunct, in order to be depoſited in the tomb of the family: the moſt common ones were uſually made of earth. The ſacrificer, who had aſſiſted at the ceremony, afterwards ſprinkled the aſſiſtants three times with a ſprinkler made of olive branches, in order to purify them. And laſtly, the principal *Præfica* diſmiſſed the company with ſaying, *Ilicet*, that is to ſay *you may now depart*; upon which the relations and friends of the defunct cried out three times, *Vale*, *vale*, *vale*, *Farewell*, calling him by his name, and adding theſe words, *Te ordine*, *quo natura permiſerit*, *cuncti ſequemur: We ſhall all follow you*, *in the courſe of nature*, *as it comes to our turns*. The urn in which the aſhes were, was carried to the ſepulchre, before which there was a little altar, whereon incenſe and other perfumes were burnt, a ceremony renewed from time to time,

Dio Caſſ. l. 56

Plin. l. 20. c. 1.

III. *Cloth not combuſtible*

as

Herod. l. 4. as well as that of ſtrewing * flowers upon the tomb; which was conſidered as an act of piety. Suet. in vit. Aug. As to thoſe whoſe bodies were not burnt, they were commonly put into earthen biers or open coffins; or, if they were perſons of diſtinction, into a tomb of ſtone or marble, in which a perpetual lamp was placed, and ſometimes little figures of the Gods, with ſmall phials, called Montfauc. Antiq. *Lachrymatoria*, becauſe they contained the tears ſhed at their funeral: which was to ſhew, that they had been much lamented. In ſome tombs jewels which had been buried with the body have been found, becauſe probably the deceaſed had been very fond of them in their life-time. All the lamps which have been found, immediately went out on the opening of the tombs they were in. The ceremony of a funeral concluded with a feaſt, which was uſually a ſupper given to the deceaſed's friends and relations: Liv. l. 8. and ſometimes proviſions were diſtributed to the people. Nine days after there was another feaſt called the great ſupper, or *Novendialis*. At this entertainment it was the cuſtom to quit black, and to put on white robes.

In the early times the Romans had burying places in their houſes: but the laws of the twelve

* Dii majorum umbris tenuem & ſine pondere terram
Spiranteſque crocos, & in urna perpetuum ver,
Qui præceptorem ſancti voluere parentis
... loco——————— *Juv.* Sat. VII.

In peace, ye ſhades of our great grandſires reſt,
No heavy earth your ſacred bones moleſt;
Eternal ſpring and riſing flow'rs adorn
The relicks of each venerable urn,
Who pious rev'rence to their tutors paid,
As parents honour'd, and as Gods obey'd.
Mr. Cha. Dryden.

tables

tables prohibited the interring or burning bodies in the city. There were places without the walls allotted for burning the bodies of the common people, where it was done at little expence, and without ſo many ceremonies: For as to the rich, and perſons who had paſſed through the great offices, they were always burnt in the field of Mars. The Veſtals were the only perſons, to whom the Commonwealth continued the privilege of being buried in the city; and if it was ſometimes granted to others, it was very rarely, and then only to perſons who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the great ſervices they had rendered the State. The Emperors alſo aſſumed this privilege.

Though the cuſtom of burning the dead was very antient amongſt the Romans, as Plutarch, in the life of Numa Pompilius, tells us, that he forbade the burning of his body, we do not find however, that it was ſo common as it became afterwards: for the ſame Plutarch tells us, that Sylla was the firſt of the family of the *Cornelii*, whoſe body was burnt. And it was not till after his time, that is to ſay after the civil wars, that this cuſtom began to grow general. But it loſt ground very much from the beginning of the Chriſtian Emperors, and was entirely aboliſhed under the Emperor Gratian. After the laws of the twelve tables had prohibited interment in the city, the Romans placed their tombs upon their eſtates, or on the ſide of the great roads. The illuſtrious families, and thoſe of diſtinction had particular ones, which ſerved not only for them, but even their freedmen and the principal ſlaves of their houſe. It was ſacrilege amongſt the Romans to uſurp or

uſe

uſe the tomb of another family; and a very conſiderable penalty was inflicted upon ſuch as committed it.

IV. *Of ſepulchres.* Theſe ſepulchres were uſually ſmall ſtructures built with brick or ſtone, wherein niches were cut all round, as in a dove-houſe, except that the niches were larger; from which reſemblance they were called *Colombaria*. In each of theſe niches two or three urns might be placed, over or under which the epitaph was engraved.

V. *Of the ſepulchres called* Hypogea. The great riches of the Commonwealth, in proceſs of time, induced her to imitate the magnificence of the Greeks in this reſpect, and after their manner to build ſubterraneous tombs, which were ſtructures compoſed of ſeveral chambers or apartments, called *Hypogea*, in which were alſo niches for the reception of ſepulchral urns. Theſe ſubterraneous apartments were adorned with paintings in freſco, Moſaic work, and figures in relief of marble, of infinitely greater value and expence than thoſe of the ſepulchres, commonly erected above ground; as appears from thoſe diſcovered near Rome ſome time ſince.

VI. *Of mourning.* Plut. in vit. Num. We might have obſerved above, that black or very brown were the colours of the mourning habits worn by the men; they were alſo common to the women. The mourning of the Emperors at firſt was black; and in the time of Auguſtus, the ladies wore white veils, and the reſt of their dreſs black on the ſame occaſion: but from the time of the Emperor Domitian, they wore nothing but white habits, without any ornament of gold, pearls, or other jewels. The ſigns of mourning amongſt the men were alſo to let their hair and beards grow, and to

Plut. Qu. Rom. 26. Herod. l. 4. Feſtus.

wear no wreaths of flowers upon their heads, as long as it continued. The longeſt was only for ten months, during which a widow could not marry again, without incurring a note of infamy. As to children, they did not wear it for them when they died under the age of three; and for thoſe between that age and ten, they mourned as many months as they were years old. The time of mourning was ſhortened on ſeveral occaſions amongſt the Romans. After the battle of Cannæ, the Commonwealth decreed that it ſhould be worn only for thirty days, in order to forget their loſs aſſoon as poſſible. There were alſo occaſions that interfered with it in private families, as the birth of a child; when the family attained ſome peculiar diſtinction; on account of certain feaſts in honour of the Gods; or the conſecration of a temple. Feſtus.

VII. *Gladiators.*

The combats of the gladiators given in honour of the deceaſed to appeaſe their manes, ſucceeded, as we have ſeen, to the antient barbarous cuſtom mentioned in Homer, which was to ſacrifice priſoners upon the tombs of thoſe, who had been killed during the war. But as the people grew more civilized, they diſcovered the exceeding barbarity of this conduct, and to remove the appearance of cruelty in theſe ſacrifices, obliged the priſoners of war to fight with each other round the tomb of him they intended to honour; and thus they formed a kind of games or ſhews, of which the cruelty was however no leſs real. The firſt kind of gladiators that appeared, had this origin: but in proportion as it was perceived that people took pleaſure in theſe fights, different ſpecies of them were invented; for there were twelve ſorts of

of gladiators, who took their names either from the arms with which they fought, or the different kinds of combat to which they were destined. There were some who fought without defensive arms; some armed at all points; others only with the buckler; some fought on horseback and in chariots; and there were even some whom they obliged to fight blindfold. Industry afterwards found means to make these shews lucrative to itself in the persons of those who were called *Lanistæ*, into whose hands the prisoners intended for these fights were put, to be taught how to use their arms well, and to exercise them in these combats, in order to make them the more entertaining to the spectator. These *Lanistæ* bought strong and robust slaves, whom they prepared for these exercises, and obliged them to fight. It was to these masters such applied as desired to exhibit gladiatorial shews, who after having agreed upon the price, furnished a proportionate number of pairs of gladiators, because they always fought by pairs. In process of time, the principal persons of the Commonwealth had gladiators of their own, whom they used when they gave games to the people, and sometimes on occasions wherein they thought proper to employ force. Julius Cæsar had a number sufficiently considerable of his own, before he was Emperor. The Roman people were so fond of these combats, that the Commonwealth, by the law *Tullia*, prohibited the citizens that stood for offices to exhibit these shews to the People; apprehending, that by the means of them they might gain their favour and suffrages, to the prejudice of the other candidates. They pleased so much, that they were also admitted on occasions of rejoicing,

Suet. in vit. Cæs.

Plut. in vit. Cæs.

joicing, as after ſome victory, or when the Emperor was deſirous to conciliate the favour of the People. In a word, this phrenzy roſe ſo high, that in ſolemn feaſts, pairs of them were brought into the eating-rooms: but at ſuch times they uſed blunt weapons; becauſe what they did, was only to divert the gueſts during the entertainment by the addreſs and agility which they ſhewed in fighting. Theſe gladiators were called *Samnites*, from being armed after the manner of that People. The inclination moſt of the Emperors had for theſe ſanguinary games, did not a little contribute to render the uſe of them more frequent.

The firſt Shew of gladiators exhibited at Rome, was in the 490th year from its foundation, in the Conſulſhip of Ap. Claudius and M. Fulvius. At firſt it was the cuſtom to exhibit them only at the funerals of the principal magiſtrates and Senators. Afterwards, in imitation of them, they were given at thoſe of private perſons, who ſometimes directed by their wills, that there ſhould be combats of gladiators in their funeral ſolemnity: they were even uſed at the funerals of women. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 4.

The profeſſion of gladiator was always reputed infamous, though ſome of the Emperors were ſo depraved as to exerciſe it themſelves, as Commodus did. Nero alſo compelled the principal perſons of the Empire to practiſe it, having made ſix hundred Knights, and four hundred Senators, appear in the amphitheatre of Rome, whom he obliged to fight either with each other, or with wild beaſts. There were ſome indeed of theſe two principal Orders of the Empire, who were mean enough to offer voluntarily to fight as gladiators upon the *arena*, Suet. in vit Neron. Dio Caſſ. l. 55.

through a ſhameful complacency for the Prince. It was in theſe times that this madneſs became ſo much in faſhion, that the Roman * ladies were ſeen to exerciſe the ſame function voluntarily, and to fight in the amphitheatre with one another, or with wild beaſts, valuing themſelves on ſhewing their intrepidity and addreſs there. Juvenal, in his ſixth Satire, blames this phrenzy of the Roman ladies of his time, and tells us that the gladiators were permitted to make their wills: it is probable that he means thoſe, who after having obtained their liberty, voluntarily fought again: for no ſlave was allowed to make his will.

It is neceſſary therefore to diſtinguiſh two kinds of gladiators; thoſe who were ſo againſt their will, as ſlaves and priſoners of war deſtined to this profeſſion; ſuch as were condemned to it by way of puniſhment; and thoſe who though free, followed it voluntarily, either through the degeneracy of the times, or the extreme indigence to which they were reduced, that determined them to take up the trade, like the ſlaves who were gladiators, and having

* Endromidas Tyrias, & fœmineum ceroma
Quis neſcit? vel quis non vidit vulnera pali?
Quem cavat aſſiduis ſudibus, ſcutoque laceſſit,
Atque omnes implet numeros; digniſſima prorſus
Florali matrona tuba: niſi ſi quid in illo
Pectore plus agitat, veræque paratur arenæ.
Juv. Sat. VI.

They turn virago's too; the wreſtler's toil
They try, and ſmear their naked limbs with oil:
Againſt the poſt their wicker ſhields they cruſh,
Flouriſh the ſword, and at the plaſtron puſh.
Of ev'ry exerciſe the manniſh crew
Fulfils the parts, and oft excels us too;
Prepar'd not only in feign'd fights t'engage,
But rout the gladiators on the ſtage. Dryden.

obtained

obtained exemption and even their liberty, ſtill followed this profeſſion voluntarily.

The gladiators generally appeared upon the *arena* by pairs, that formed ſo many ſingle combats. Aſſoon as one of them was wounded, the People did not fail to cry out immediately, *he has it:* and if the wounded combatant laid down his arms that moment, it was a ſign that he declared himſelf conquered: but his life depended on the ſpectators, or on the perſon who preſided at thoſe games. However, if the Emperor arrived at that inſtant, it was uſual enough for him to ſave his life: but if he recovered of his wound, That did not exempt him from fighting again in another Shew. The Roman people took too much pleaſure in theſe games, to be ſpectators of them with indifference: and in conſequence, when a gladiator fought bravely and was wounded, the people interpoſed for the preſervation of his life; but on the contrary, if he behaved like a coward in the battle, they did not fail to demand his death. To ſignify that his life ſhould be ſpared, the people only held up one hand with the thumb bent, and to expreſs that it was their will he ſhould die, it ſufficed to ſhew the hand with the thumb raiſed. The wounded gladiators knew ſo well That to be the ſignal of their deſtruction, that aſſoon as they perceived it, it was their cuſtom to preſent their throats in order to receive the mortal ſtroke. Their bodies were removed from the *arena* with an hook. The rewards given the victorious gladiators at firſt, were either a palm or money: but as it was uſual for thoſe who trafficked in gladiators, in order to augment their gains, to make thoſe fight again in other Shews, who had already been victori-

Suet. in vit. Cæſ.

Juv. Sat. 3.

Mart. de Spectac. Juv. Sat 7.

VIII. *Discharge or exemption of gladiators.* Suet. in vit. Aug.

ous, unless the people granted them an exemption called in Latin *missio*, Augustus decreed, that no gladiators should be made to fight for the future, except such of them as came off victorious, were granted this exemption; which was a licence not to fight any more, unless they thought fit. But he did not give them their liberty; to obtain which it was necessary to have been several times victorious. However, in time it became usual enough to give them their liberty and this exemption together. This affranchisement was executed by the Prætor, by laying a knotty staff like that of crab-tree upon their heads, which staff was called *rudis:* but it only removed them out of the state of slavery, without giving them the quality of citizens. To this freedom a reward purely honorary, as an evidence of their bravery, was sometimes annexed: this was a garland or kind of crown of flowers mingled with ribbands, called *Lemnisci*, which was put on their heads: the ends of these ribbands hung down upon their shoulders, from whence those who wore this mark of distinction were called *Lemnisci*. When they had obtained exemption, or liberty, and quitted the profession of gladiator, they went to offer their arms * to Hercules, as to their tutelary God, and affixed them to the gates of his temple. The Empe-

IX. *Making free of gladiators.*

Plin. l. 21. c. 3. Festus.

* ——————Vejanius armis
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro;
Ne populum extrema toties exoret arena.
Hor. Ep. I.

The fencer Vejan, now grown weak with age,
Lives quietly at home, and leaves the stage,
His arms in Great Alcides' temple plac'd,
Left after all his former glories past,
He, worsted, meanly begs his life at last. Creech.

ror

ror Antoninus Pius inſtituted a prize for the exercises of the gladiators. Pliny ſays, that immediately after fighting, water mingled with common wood-aſhes was given them, to calm the too violent agitation of the blood. Gladiators were often uſed alſo in war, where they ſerved as other troops. When Otho marched againſt Vitellius, he carried two thouſand gladiators with him to ſerve in his army. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius took with him thoſe of Rome to ſerve in the army againſt the Marcomanni. The inhabitants of the city complained of it exceedingly, ſaying, that it was plain he did not intend to give them any more games, as he had carried away the gladiators of the city to the army. The ſame had been done long before; for they had alſo been uſed in the civil wars of the Commonwealth and Triumvirates.

Spart. in vit Anton. Plin. l. 36. c. 27.

X. *Gladiators ſerving in the army.*

Tac. l. 2. Jul. Capit. in vit. M. Aurel.

Criminals were ſometimes condemned to ſerve as gladiators, and to fight either with each other or with wild beaſts. They were alſo condemned to be expoſed to wild beaſts, in order to their being devoured by them. This kind of puniſhment was uſual enough under the Heathen Emperors, who often inflicted it upon the primitive Chriſtians. Theſe executions paſſed either in the Circus or Amphitheatre; and ſerved by way of prelude to amuſe and divert the ſpectators till the games began. Such a ſpectacle is too repugnant to humanity, not to give reaſon to think a people who made it their favourite diverſion, to be of a cruel diſpoſition; and, not to take the trouble to enquire whether much of this temper did not enter alſo into the extraordinary actions of the heroes of the Commonwealth, it cannot be denied, but that the Roman genius in general was inclined to cruelty.

Though the inhumanity of the games of the Amphitheatre may be palliated, by aſcribing them to a ſpirit of policy, with a view of ſuſtaining the martial diſpoſition of the nation; we muſt however confeſs, that, if they had not had ſuch a propenſity to cruelty, they could not have taken pleaſure in ſeeing unfortunate perſons torn in pieces by lions, tigers, and other wild beaſts. Their hiſtory, when we attend to it, ſupplies abundance of circumſtances, that ſufficiently manifeſt this character. For though the introduction of the luxury and effeminacy of the Aſiatics, and the commerce with the Greeks, had ſoftened their manners, theſe innovations did not change their natural diſpoſition, which was always perceptible, even amidſt their diverſions and voluptuouſneſs. Though frequenting Athens had given birth to a paſſion for the arts and ſciences amongſt the Romans, and had rendered them civil and polite; it is however obſerved, that they never came up to the affability and humanity, which formed the peculiar character of the Athenians. The ſight of theſe inhuman Shews, which were ſo frequent that no day paſſed without them; and the mixture of Barbarians, who incorporated themſelves by degrees with the Roman people, and brought in their vices with them, did not a little conduce to ſupport this ſanguinary temper; which Rome ſhewed early, and had habituated by the continual wars in which ſhe was engaged during almoſt five hundred years. In conſequence we ought not to be ſurprized, if the ſoftneſs of the Aſiatics, and the politeneſs of the Greeks, did not produce all the effect which might have been expected from them. Only the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Religion could give them a ſenſe

of the neceſſity there was for that mildneſs and ſpirit of charity, which are the ſoul of it, as it was not till the reign of Conſtantine, the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, that the firſt ſtop was put to theſe bloody fights, of which the uſe was utterly aboliſhed by the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius.

The eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Religion, and the removal of the ſeat of the Empire from Rome to the city of Conſtantinople, occaſioned many changes of cuſtoms and manners, which I ſhall not purſue, having propoſed to myſelf to extend this collection no farther than that period.

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